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Hartford Map

Hartford Victorian photos

Yale and New Haven

Indian Tribes map of Connecticut

Author's Preface

It is a distinct privilege to have this opportunity to write about early Connecticut and its background for all those who find colonial history of interest. Inevitably, this study owes much to my earlier book, *Connecticut*, published by Random House in 1961. In the fourteen years since its publication a number of significant new books, articles and dissertations on Connecticut topics have appeared. These works have proven useful at many points, especially in the last three chapters.

As always the staffs of the Connecticut State Library and The Connecticut Historical Society have been most helpful. Special thanks must go to Robert Wilkerson and James Mottershead of the Pequot Press who have been unfailingly generous in their assistance. The Editorial Board has always provided wise counsel and shown admirable patience on problems both large and small. Mrs. Charlotte B. Ritchie was unfailingly prompt and efficient in performing the laborious task of typing the preliminary and final drafts of the text. Finally, I owe a special debt to my wife, Wilda, for her devoted and skilled efforts in reviewing the text and making substantial improvements in style and content.

Albert E. Van Dusen
Storrs, Connecticut

Spring 1975

SERIES IN CONNECTICUT HISTORY VOLUME

Puritans Against the Wilderness

Connecticut History to 1763

Albert E. Van Dusen

A Publication of
The Center for
Connecticut Studies
of Eastern Connecticut State College

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Albert E. Van Dusen (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is a Professor of History at The University of Connecticut in Storrs and is the Connecticut State Historian. He has authored *Connecticut* (1961), is the Editor of the forthcoming Jonathan Trumbull Papers, and is a former President of the Association for the Study of Connecticut History.

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Editors' Preface

Albert Van Dusen's *Puritans Against the Wilderness* provides an introductory survey of Connecticut life and development in the period between the seventeenth-century founding of the colony and the conclusion of the French and Indian War. Among the topics given attention are Thomas Hooker and the "liberal" River Colony; John Davenport and the "conservative" New Haven Colony; influences of geography and geology; white-Indian relations; the pattern of everyday life; Connecticut's role in the intercolonial wars; John Winthrop, Jr., and the Charter of 1662; and the Great Awakening. The volume devotes particular attention to the deep changes involved as the Connecticut Puritan of the seventeenth century evolved into the Connecticut Yankee of the mid-eighteenth century. Professor Van Dusen finds that beneath the apparently smooth facade of Connecticut politics and religion in the so-called "Land of Steady Habits" much dissent and some intense conflict existed. Nevertheless, the volume concludes that while internal conflict often cut deep, Connecticut in 1763 was a reasonably contented deferential society.

Albert Van Dusen's study is the first volume in the five-volume "Series in Connecticut History" published by the Center for Connecticut Studies of Eastern Connecticut State College and the Pequot Press. The Center for Connecticut Studies was established in 1970 to foster an appreciation of the historical and contemporary nature of Connecticut society. Housed in Eastern's J. Eugene Smith Library, the Center is collecting a variety of Connecticut materials which are being made available to students, educators, and interested lay persons through formal courses and annual workshops. The "Series in Connecticut History" does not seek to present a comprehensive or encyclopedic record of the state's development. However, it is the expectation of the Center that these volumes by providing narrative accounts of the principal forces and events in each period of Connecticut history as well as selections of primary material will bring alive to the reader the rich heritage of Connecticut's past.

A great many persons have been responsible for the preparation and publication of these volumes. Charles R. Webb, Robert K. Wickware, and J. Parker Huber, the president, former dean of academic affairs, and director of research, respectively, of Eastern Connecticut State College, have aided the project by a number of undramatic but crucial contributions. The Eastern Connecticut State College Foundation has been generous in its support of the Series. Francis Sullivan and Robert Clapp of the Eastern Connecticut State College Audio-Visual Department have made available their expertise in the preparation of illustrative material.

Thompson R. Harlow and his staff at The Connecticut Historical Society have graciously made available the Society's facilities and resources to both the authors and the editors. Janet Nelligan, Dorothy Hulme, and Donna Baker have typed the manuscripts. The authors of these volumes—Ruth Andersen, Herbert Janick, Freeman Meyer, David Roth, Janice Trecker, and Albert Van Dusen—brought to the project not only their individual talents, but, as importantly, an unfailing cooperativeness without which the Series could not have been undertaken or completed. And finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

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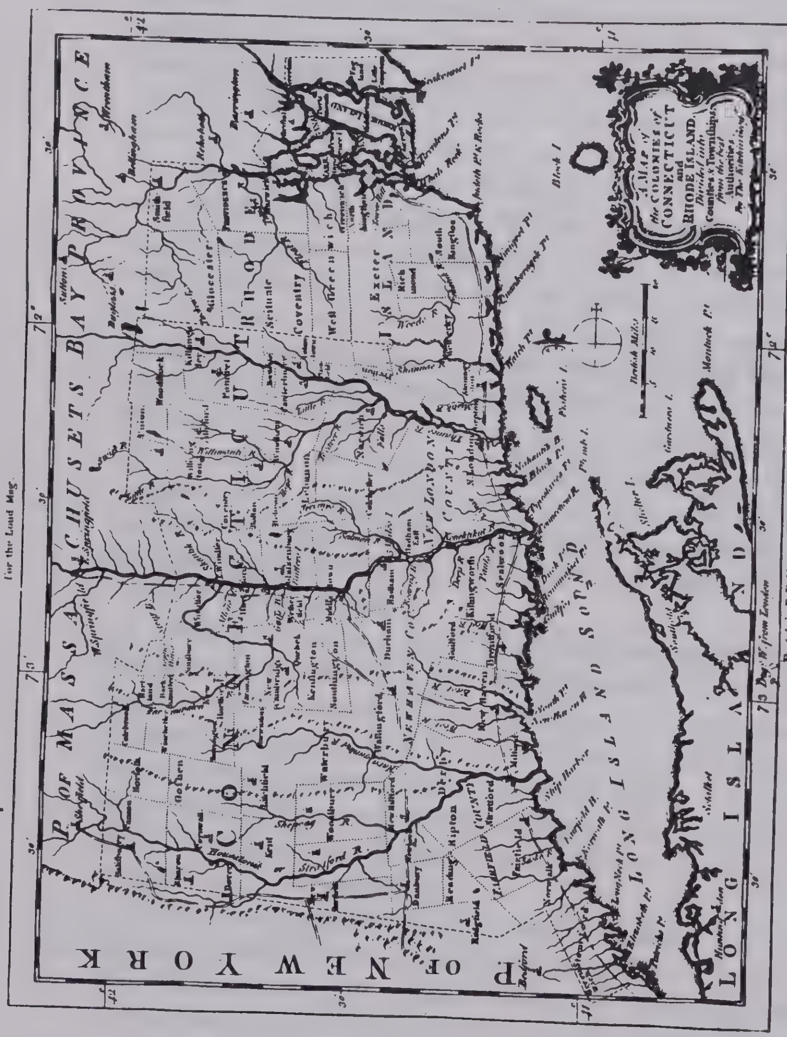
Spring 1975

Selected Important Dates in Connecticut History, 1614-1763

1614	Adriaen Block, representing the Dutch, sailed up the Connecticut River.
1632	Edward Winslow of Plymouth explored lower Connecticut River for fur trading and colonization possibilities.
1633	The Dutch erected a fort, the House of (Good) Hope, on the future site of Hartford.
1633	John Oldham and others explored and traded along the Connecticut River. Plymouth Colony sent William Holmes to found a trading post at Windsor.
1634	Wethersfield founded by people from Massachusetts.
1635	Fort erected at Saybrook by Lion Gardiner.
1635	Group from Dorchester, Massachusetts, joined Windsor.
1636	Thomas Hooker and company journeyed from Newtown (Cambridge), Massachusetts to found Hartford.
1637	Pequot War. Captain John Mason led colonists to decisive victory.
1638	New Haven Colony established by Davenport and Eaton.
1639	Fundamental Orders of Connecticut adopted by Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor; John Haynes chosen first governor.
1643	Connecticut joined Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth and New Haven to form the New England Confederation.
1646	New London founded by John Winthrop, Jr.
1650	Comprehensive code of laws drawn up, probably by Roger Ludlow, and adopted by legislature.
1660	Hopkins Grammar School founded at New Haven.
1662	John Winthrop, Jr., obtained a royal charter for Connecticut from King Charles II.
1665	Union of Connecticut and New Haven colonies completed.
1675-76	Connecticut participated in King Philip's War, which was fought in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.
1687	Edmund Andros assumed rule over Connecticut; Charter Oak episode supposedly occurred.
1689	Connecticut resumed government under Charter of 1662.
1701	Collegiate School authorized by General Assembly; New Haven made joint capital with Hartford.
1705	First Baptist Church established at Groton.
1708	Saybrook Platform, providing more centralized control of Established (Congregational) Church, approved by General Assembly.
1709	First printing press established by Thomas Short in New London; first printing of paper money (resulting from expenses in Queen Anne's War).
1717	Collegiate School moved to New Haven; called Yale from 1718.
1724	Services begun in first Anglican Church at Stratford.
1730's	Iron industry launched in Salisbury area.
1740	Manufacture of tinware begun at Berlin by Edward and William Pattison.
1741-42	Height of religious "Great Awakening."
1745	Connecticut troops under Roger Wolcott helped to capture Louisbourg.
1752-58	Spanish ship case and lengthy litigation over it.
1754	Eleazar Wheelock opened an Indian school at Lebanon (Columbia).
1755	*Connecticut Gazette* of New Haven, Connecticut's first newspaper, printed by James Parker.
1755-62	Many Connecticut troops participated in the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War).
1756	First census of Connecticut—126,976 Whites, 3,019 Negroes, 617 Indians—total 130,612.
1758	Connecticut's second newspaper, the *New-London Summary*, launched.
1763	Treaty of Paris ended Seven Years' War.


For the Lond Mag.
PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETS BAY
PROVINCE OF NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
NEW LONDON COUNTY
NEW HAVEN CO.
FAIRFIELD COUNTY
LONG ISLAND SOUND
LONG ISLAND
Block I.
Montauk Pt
British Miles
A MAP of the COLONIES of CONNECTICUT and RHODE ISLAND, Divided into Counties & Townships, from the best Authorities. By Tho. Kitchin Geog.
Deg. W. from London
Printed for R. Baldwin in Pater Noster Row 1758

Thomas Kitchin Map of 1758.

Courtesy of the Yale University Library

I Backgrounds in England and Massachusetts

About the beginning of June [1636], Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women and children, took their departure from Cambridge, and travelled more than a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets, and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them a hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way, subsisted on the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms, and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey.*

This was a short journey—approximately 100 miles—made by a small group of mostly obscure people. Who could have imagined that an important colony would develop from their efforts and those of like-minded men?

To understand how and why this little band traveled to the bank of the Connecticut River in 1636 one must make another much longer journey backward in time and about 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to England. There one will find the background and explanation for this great adventure in colonization.

England Comes of Age as a Nation

Undoubtedly the most important single fact about the first settlers of Connecticut was that they were Englishmen. Born and

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*Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut* . . . (New London, 1898) I, 43.

bred in England, they loved their native land and left great regret.

Around 1500 England came of age as a nation. Cut off fro the Continent by the English Channel, the English people slowl developed a distinctive language and culture. Only after the cu mination of the sanguinary Wars of the Roses, however, was England able to attain some genuine national unity. Under the efficien but often brutal rule of Henry VII (1485-1509) and of his son Henry VIII (1509-47), a high degree of law and order was achieved The two Henrys crushed internal opposition and nurtured th growth of a vigorous nationalism and an expanding economy.

The Channel, however, offered no real insulation against powerful intellectual and religious currents which were sweeping northern Europe soon after 1500. Among these developments the Reformation proved to be the most earth-shaking in its implications.

Conditions in England were very favorable to a revolt against the Roman Catholic Church. Much anticlerical and antipapal feeling existed and Henry VIII deliberately employed this sentiment to achieve certain personal ends. Henry's marital problems served as the catalyst for a series of Parliamentary acts which carried England out of the Catholic Church and into a new Church of England with the King as its head. In form of government, ritual and most of the creed the new Anglican Church appeared very much like the Catholic Church.

After a temporary return to Catholicism under Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Mary (1553-58), Elizabeth I (1558-1603) presided over restoration of the conservative Protestantism of the Church of England. As a monarch Elizabeth inherited a striking rapport with the masses from her father, and an instinctive sympathy with their aspirations and prejudices. While one cannot credit her with creating the glories of her reign, she provided a climate conducive to their realization.

For colonization to become a reality England had to develop a strong nation at home. Under Elizabeth this was achieved. Earlier England had been too weak to follow up exploring expeditions, such as that of John Cabot in 1497, with any actual colonization.

The possibilities for future English colonization were greatly expanded by the shift in principal trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. While the Italian city states faced decline, the Atlantic powers—Spain, Portugal, France, Holland and England—found world-wide commercial and colonial opportunities of awesome dimensions opening to them. Spain and France loomed as England's most formidable rivals. England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 sharply reduced Spain's threat. Luckily for England, France became increasingly involved in land expansion on the Continent and largely eschewed the aggressive overseas push which might have paid great dividends.

Cabot's voyage provided England with a claim to northern sections of North America, including Connecticut. For many decades, however, England limited its American interests to fishing and lucrative raids on the Spanish treasure ships bringing the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru to Spain. Meanwhile English explorers, like Martin Frobisher and John Davis, searched in vain for a northwest passage to the wealth of the East. Overshadowing these colorful events was a solid build-up of English trade in the Baltic, Mediterranean and Orient. Private businessmen obtained charters for companies, each exploiting the trade of a specific area. After 1600 joint-stock companies entered foreign trade with marked success. Through such enterprises England slowly accumulated substantial capital—some of which became available from private investors for possible establishment of colonies.

At home slow changes spread over a couple of centuries produced a new political and economic system. Feudalism with all of its complex interrelationships and its serfs tied to the land gradually but inexorably declined. New classes of sturdy land-owning yeomen, tenant farmers and day laborers appeared as very important forces. The powerful central government replaced the feudal lord as the focus of power.

Meanwhile, the burgeoning wealth of Europe's urban centers produced a growing demand for consumer goods, especially woolen cloth. Fortunately England's climate and soil were well adapted to sheep raising. For this activity to prosper, however, it was vital to consolidate and enclose thousands of small plots of land into larger areas. Thus, for several centuries the enclosure movement became extremely important. For many yeomen, tenants and agricultural laborers the enclosures brought deep personal tragedy.

Driven from their land they drifted away—discouraged if not hope less. Eventually many found work in the growing cities.

The woolen cloth industry developed into England's most pro itable source of foreign income. The cloth was produced using th "domestic" system under which the capitalist "put out" the ra materials (wool, especially) into the homes of people for manu facture into finished materials. English cloth became the grea staple of export to the Continent.

The cloth industry became particularly well developed in east ern England. Counties such as Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk found new prosperity reflected in the imposing new churches seen in place like Norwich, Ipswich, Hingham and Lavenham. The arrival o skilled Flemish weavers further strengthened the industry.

While farming, sheep raising and clothmaking dominated the economic scene in eastern England, the economy was remarkably diversified for that period. Shipbuilding, cheese-making, potash making and fishing kept large numbers busy. The small port towns such as Colchester, Harwich, Ipswich and Maldon actively traded with the Continent and developed a vigorous maritime tradition. This broad economic background would provide valuable skills for the challenge of pioneering in New England, and from these eastern counties would come an unusually high proportion of Connecticut's first settlers.

Englishmen of the seventeenth century were generally accustomed to a large amount of governmental regulation of their economic activities. The prevailing economic philosophy, known as *mercantilism*, aimed primarily at economic self-sufficiency. It called for extensive regulation of imports and exports hopefully to attain a favorable trade balance. Industry at home was encouraged and chartered companies abroad helped to improve the balance of trade by selling the surplus home manufactures. Colonies played an important role in the overall plan by providing cheap raw materials and purchasing the mother country's manufactures. The mercantilists advocated a large merchant marine to secure the profits of the carrying trade.

Why in a relatively stable and prosperous nation such as England did a sizable group of citizens suddenly decide to leave to start a new life under exceedingly difficult conditions? The motivation had to be very powerful. Central to any explanation of this migration is an understanding of the religious developments in England from the mid-1500's to the 1630's.

Under Queen Elizabeth I Parliament effected a religious compromise known as the Elizabethan Settlement. Essentially, it reestablished the Anglican Church created under Henry VIII. The creed was enunciated in the thirty-nine articles passed by Parliament in 1571. Realizing that only a moderate, conciliatory, religious position could avoid intense religious conflict and preserve internal peace in her country, Elizabeth followed a religious *via media.* Naturally, a compromise church pleased neither the Catholics on one side nor the more radical Protestants on the other. Many of the latter group had sought safety abroad during the persecutions of Mary in the 1550's. Now they eagerly returned to Elizabethan England ready to implement their liberal religious views. These were the Protestant dissenters, many of whom later became embroiled with the government and church in serious disputes.

The Rise of the Puritans

By the 1560's the Puritans emerged as a separate group and grew steadily in numbers and influence. Gradually, they contained three distinct groups: (1) the Presbyterians, who followed Calvin's teachings on church government; (2) the Brownists or Separatists, later known as Congregationalists, who espoused independence in policies for every individual church; and (3) the Puritans or reformers, who remained within the Church of England, desirous of reforming it. To all Puritans the cornerstone of their religion was the experience of *conversion* which set them apart and conferred upon them the special virtues and responsibilities of the elect. This conversion might result from various kinds of experiences —a stirring sermon being a most likely one. In the process of conversion a person experienced the wrath and redemptive love of God. Puritans subscribed to ideals of strict piety in everyday living and sought to create a godly nation. Their every action was moral and required a specific accounting.

By the 1570's and 1580's they were winning many supporters by their demands that the Church of England undergo a thorough reformation. One demand which particularly antagonized the

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Queen was that ministers, elders and all other officials be popularly elected by congregations and synods. This meant a direct reduction in the Queen's powers. In 1583 the monarch effected the elevation of Whitgift to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He instituted very repressive measures against the more influential Puritans. In turn, they retaliated with an illuminating survey of the clergy in the Church of England. They uncovered a shocking number who fell into such categories as "gamester," "pot companion," "drunkard and ale house haunter," "unable to preach" and "incontinent." In Essex a study of 335 benefices showed 173 ignorant and unpreaching ministers, 61 pluralists, 10 nonresidents of a single benefice and 12 "preachers of scandalous life." Little wonder that Essex experienced the highest level of nonconformity in England! Opposition to the Church also reached high levels in such counties as Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland and Kent. The pressure of Elizabeth's government on the Puritans was so intense, however, that the movement lost ground in the late sixteenth century.

When James I of Scotland mounted the throne of England in 1603, the Puritans expected more sympathetic treatment. Instead they found all demands for reform of the Church of England flatly rejected. Some three hundred Puritan clergy lost their positions in the Church while others conformed outwardly but worked with heavy hearts. Some could not endure the very restrictive conservative controls and emigrated to Holland. In 1620 a small body of Separatists made their famous voyage to Plymouth, Massachusetts.

For those ardent Puritans who remained in England the general situation steadily deteriorated after the accession of Charles I in 1625. He flaunted the traditional liberties of Englishmen and degraded the role of Parliament in the government to a shocking degree. By the late 1620's a depression in the wool industry added to the woes of many Puritans. Some began to consider the possibility of starting over again in the New World.

Thomas Hooker's Early Career

Among the prominent and unhappy Puritan leaders was Thomas Hooker, the future "father of Connecticut." Little is known about Hooker's parents except that they apparently possessed mod-

Courtesy of Hartford Electric Light Company. Photo by Dowd, Wylie and Olson

Thomas Hooker (1583-1646) as he is supposed to have appeared.

erate me -enough to send him to a grammar school at Market Bosworth, a small market town in central England, located about twenty-five miles west of Marefield, his birthplace. In his famous sketch of Hooker's life Cotton Mather declared that Hooker's parents were "neither unable, nor unwilling to bestow upon him a liberal education; whereto the early and lively sparkles of wit observed in him, did very much encourage them."

These "lively sparkles of wit" carried young Hooker into Cambridge University in 1604. Most of his brilliant career there was spent in Emmanuel College where he completed the B.A. in 1608 and the M.A. in 1611. By coincidence Hooker had chosen the one truly Puritan college at Cambridge.

Earlier in the college's history Queen Elizabeth, disturbed by a rumor that Emmanuel was pro-Puritan, spoke to Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder. "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a puritan foundation." "No, madam" Mildmay replied, "far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established laws, but I have set an acorn, which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." Neither Mildmay nor the Queen could foresee that one of the fruits would be the leader of the Puritan colony of Connecticut!

While at Emmanuel Hooker's entire life was changed by a lengthy, profound and agonizing religious experience. Out of this came a conversion and a decision to enter the ministry. His final years at Emmanuel—1611 to 1618—were spent in theological studies and in developing his own philosophical and religious beliefs. The works of the writer, Alexander Richardson, helped provide a basis for Hooker's thinking, but even more influential was William Ames, teacher, friend and inspiration. Hooker once said that "If *a scholar* was but well studied in Dr. *Ames* his *Medulla Theologiae,* and *Casus Conscientiae,* so as to understand them thoroughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the scriptures,) a *good divine,* though he had no more books in the world."

A Puritan Ministry in Difficult Times

Hooker began his pastorate humbly as rector of St. George's Church in Esher, Surrey, a small village a few miles southwest of London. While there he fell in love with Susannah Garbrand, the

ma f his patron, Francis Drake. The marriage took place in 1621.

After about six years at Esher, Hooker accepted a call in 1626 to be lecturer at the Church of St. Mary in Chelmsford, Essex. Chelmsford was a busy and prosperous market town about thirty miles northeast of London. As a lecturer in an Anglican Church he was expected to preach on Sunday afternoons and market days.

From the start Hooker's powerful preaching drew large congregations, including some persons of lofty social rank. Cotton Mather recounts how an irreligious man and his friends plotted to attend Hooker's lecture in order to cause a serious disturbance. The troublemaker had not been there long "before the *quick and powerful word* of God, in the mouth of his faithful *Hooker,* pierced the soul of him; he came out with an awakened and a distressed soul, and by the further blessing of God upon Mr. *Hooker's* ministry, he arrived unto a true *conversion.*" The man later followed Hooker to America.

Hooker did not lack courage in his preaching. On a national day of fasting when speaking to a crowded congregation at Chelmsford he beseeched God to enlighten the King and place him on a pious course. Remarkably enough, this criticism of Charles I did not precipitate governmental persecution of him.

Serious trouble, however, soon befell him. William Laud, Bishop of London since 1628, decided to wage an all-out campaign against Puritans in his bishopric. His agents soon began a close surveillance of Puritan clergy. Among those watched was Hooker whose reputation as an influential Puritan preacher already had spread far. In May 1629 the vicar of nearby Braintree wrote to Laud about Hooker's enormous and pernicious influence and urged Laud to remove him from his position. Soon afterwards he was ordered to appear before Laud. He was warned to cease his Puritan practices and especially his preaching on topics forbidden by the Church.

Hooker, however, was so deeply committed to Puritanism that he could not alter his practices. It became obvious to him that arrest and possible imprisonment lay ahead if he continued as lecturer at St. Mary's. So, probably late in 1629, he slipped away to the nearby village of Little Baddow where he taught school in a house called "Cuckoos Farm." Serving as his assistant was young John

Eliot, [illegible] to become noted as a missionary to New England Indians.

Hooker Flees to Holland and then to New England

Apparently Hooker could not resist occasional opportunities to preach because Laud's agents soon renewed their persecution. To escape a trial in the dreaded Court of High Commission Hooker quickly fled to Holland. Here in turn he served fellow Puritans in Amsterdam, Delft and finally in Rotterdam. There he became a colleague of William Ames and Hugh Peter. He admired Ames greatly, and the feeling was reciprocated. Ames even called Hooker the finest preacher and disputant of all the scholars whom he had ever known.

As time passed Hooker's thoughts turned increasingly to the possibility of migration to America. Men of his principles had no foreseeable future in the Church of England. Even in tolerant Holland he saw little chance to exert constructive leadership since he and his followers constituted only a handful of English in a great sea of Dutchmen! From Massachusetts Bay Colony in New England came pleas from some of Hooker's old friends in the Chelmsford area to serve them in the New World.

In 1633 Hooker made the crucial decision to start life anew in New England. He quietly re-entered England to arrange some personal affairs. Mather quaintly describes what happened:

> Returning into *England* in order to a further voyage, he [Mr. Hooker] was quickly scented by the pursevants [officers]; who at length got so far up with him, as to knock at the door of that very chamber, where he was now discoursing with Mr. *Stone;* who was now become his designed companion and assistent for the *New-English* enterprize. Mr. *Stone* was at that instant smoking of *tobacco;* for which Mr. *Hooker* had been reproving him, as being then used by few persons of sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant wit, he stept unto the door, with his pipe in his mouth, and such an air of speech and look, as gave him some credit with the officer. The officer demanded, *Whether Mr.* Hooker *were not there?* Mr. *Stone* replied with a braving sort of confidence, *What* Hooker? *Do you mean* Hooker *that lived once at* Chelmsford! The officer answered, *Yes, he!* Mr. *Stone* immediately, with a diversion like that which once helped *Athanasius,* made this true answer, *If it be he you look for, I saw him about an hour ago, at such an house in the town; you had best hasten thither after him.* The officer took this for a sufficient account, and went his way; but Mr. *Hooker,* upon this intimation, concealed himself more carefully and securely, till he went on board, at the *Downs,* in the year 1633, the ship which brought him, and Mr. *Cotton,* and Mr. *Stone* to *New-England:* where none but Mr. *Stone* was owned for a preacher, at their first coming aboard; the other two delaying to take their turns in the publick worship of the ship, till they were got so far into the main ocean, that they might with safety, discover who they were.

The presence of three leading Puritan ministers—John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Stone—on one ship resulted in a veritable feast of preaching for the passengers! Each day during the eight weeks' crossing the 200 appreciative passengers enjoyed a sermon from one of the trio. Among the listeners was John Haynes, later to be a governor of Connecticut.

Soon after his arrival in Boston, September 4, 1633, Hooker with his assistant Stone journeyed to nearby Newtown (Cambridge) where a ready-made congregation eagerly awaited him. Soon afterwards they assumed the positions of pastor and teacher respectively. Newtown already was a substantial town with some inhabitants of affluence, and Hooker quickly won a position of leadership in the colony.

When Roger Williams came to trial in October 1635, Hooker was chosen to refute Williams' heretical stand on such issues as the charter, the freeman's oath, the free church and separatism. Each man argued most persuasively, but neither convinced the other. Public opinion, in general, supported Hooker so Williams was soon banished.

The Irresistible Lure of the Connecticut Valley

Hooker's Newtown contingent soon began to agitate for more land or emigration. In September 1634 they submitted a petition to the Massachusetts General Court. In it they cited three reasons for acquiring more land or leaving: (1) inadequate land for cattle, maintenance of ministers and new settlers; (2) abundant fertile land in Connecticut and Dutch designs on it; (3) "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither." A hot debate developed before the Newtown group finally won the promise of additional land.

What really caused the Newtown group's desire to leave Mas-

sachusetts. There must have been more than meets the eye in the petition. The early historian, William Hubbard, may have gone to the heart of the problem when he wrote: "Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb." Some policy differences had arisen between the two men, and Hooker may have felt that he never could be entirely his own man in Massachusetts where Cotton had preempted the role of chief clergyman.

For the great majority of would-be migrants to the Connecticut Valley the chief motivation clearly was economic not religious. They held essentially the same beliefs and worshipped in the same manner as most other residents of Massachusetts. The real attraction of Connecticut lay in the reports of abundant fertile land.

In 1635 the General Court reluctantly approved a renewed petition to depart for the Connecticut Valley provided the emigrants remained under Massachusetts rule. The lure of the valley thus proved irresistible to a substantial number of Massachusetts Bay people and likewise to other Englishmen in Plymouth and to some Dutchmen as well.

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[*] Each chapter list includes works selected from the more important ones employed in preparation of the chapter.

II The Land and Its Original Inhabitants

Water—the Key to Success

When the first Dutch and English explorers viewed the lower Connecticut River Valley, they were elated with what they saw. The broad Connecticut River, except for a few sand bars, offered easy access to the interior. Above the Narrows at Middletown the valley broadened out and the soil appeared to be fertile. Six miles above Hartford were rapids at the future Enfield, but above the rapids were more miles of navigable stream. The Connecticut River, indeed, provided the key to the River Colony's rapid expansion. It offered easy ingress and egress, a highway for the new settlers and for the export of their surplus products. Without the great river it is difficult to imagine the rapid growth which actually occurred.

Water largely explains the early history of both the River Colony and the New Haven Colony. Connecticut had a drowned irregular coastline with many sheltered harbors, of which New London was the finest. In July 1680 the colony's leaders, answering an English query about harbors, declared that in New London "Ships of great burthen may com up to the town and lye secure in any winds." Later they wrote of "New London or Pequot River, wher a ship of 500 tunn may go up to the Towne, and com so near the shore that they may toss a biskit ashoare: and vessells of about 30 tunn may pass up about 12 miles above N. London, to or neer a town called Norwich."

Ships of up to 300 tons used New Haven and Fairfield harbors while small craft of thirty or forty tons put in at Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Norwalk and Stamford. The many harbors encouraged fishing, shipbuilding and trading.

Connecticut's Topography

Topographically Connecticut contained many hills, deep forests, ravines, rocks, rivers and over 1,000 lakes. If one excludes the later western land claims, Connecticut consisted of about 5,000 square miles—not a large area even in the seventeenth century. When the disputed boundaries finally were adjudicated, the eastern

line, with Rhode Island, totaled about 50 miles; that on Long Island Sound, nearly 100; the western, with New York, about 75; and the northern, with Massachusetts, 87. The early settlers had to look hard to find much flat terrain. On the coast was a narrow coastal plain. Along some rivers, especially the Connecticut above Middletown, were narrow plains with fertile soils. The spring floods, especially on the Connecticut, deposited some fertile silt on the adjacent bottom lands. The relatively deep rich alluvial soil of the central valley has made over 300 years of successful farming possible. Even the central valley is not large—only ten to twenty miles wide—and is punctuated here and there by small traprock peaks such as the Hanging Hills of Meriden, Mount Higby and Beseck Mountain.

To round out the topographic features of Connecticut, the early settlers found to the east and west of the great valley long low ranges of hills known later as the Eastern and Western Highlands. As one moves northward the altitude gradually increases to about 1,300 feet in northeastern Connecticut and to 2,380 feet on Mount Frissell in the northwestern corner. The highest area, including Mount Frissell and Bear Mountain, belongs to the Taconic range of mountains. While the highlands provide scenery attractive to modern dwellers and visitors, they chiefly afforded the early farmers back-breaking toil on thin rocky soils which tended to erode badly and wear out rapidly.

Throughout Connecticut the land was mostly covered with magnificent virgin forests broken here and there by Indian clearings. Large stands of such coniferous (soft wood) trees as balsam, cedar, hemlock and pine dotted the land. Among the deciduous (hard wood) trees were ash, basswood, beech, birch, buttonwood, chestnut, elm, hickory, maple, oak, pepperidge, poplar, sassafras, sycamore, walnut, whitewood and wild cherry. The pioneers especially prized the oak, pine and whitewood. Out of whitewood, for instance, they made superior boards and clapboards for their houses. The forests tended to have far less underbrush than today because Indians often burned it off to trap deer and other game.

The hunter of today must envy the early colonial hunters who could shoot wild turkey, heron, partridge, quail and pigeons. Bear, deer, fox, mink, otter, wild cat and wolf were abundant. So feared

was the wolf that as early as May 1647 a bounty of ten shillings was offered for killing one—an incentive repeated in the Code of 1650.

Both Indians and whites reveled in the abundance of waterfowl and fish. Most of the rivers teemed with fish. In the Connecticut River salmon and shad were special delights. Along the shores settlers easily obtained clams, lobsters, oysters and shellfish. Ducks, broadbills, teal, sheldrake, wigeons and wild geese flourished in the lakes, rivers and coastal bays.

Every river and brook in Connecticut had its fall line within the colony so abundant waterpower was available. In most new towns one of the first rights granted was that for a gristmill.

Profound Geologic Changes

Connecticut's irregular terrain results from complex geologic changes occurring over hundreds of millions of years. In the beginning the land was covered by seas. Near the end of the Archeozoic age, perhaps more than a billion years ago, marine deposits were folded to create high mountains. By the mid-Paleozoic era, perhaps 400,000,000 years ago, the land rose and huge earthquakes ravaged the New England area. Most Connecticut rocks date from this era though the superficial surface characteristics reflect changes of later Mesozoic and Cenozoic periods. The lofty mountains of the late Paleozoic times towered over the country and disgorged avalanches from their snowy and icy sides. Upon arrival of the Mesozoic era, approximately 200,000,000 years ago, the slow erosion of mountains began. By the end of this era the large mountains had disappeared and the surface constituted a rolling peneplain with sluggish streams. The large central lowland of Triassic sandstone was mostly created during the mid-Mesozoic era.

When the Cenozoic period began, about 60,000,000 years ago, Connecticut experienced the Tertiary uplift. The land surface became elevated in a fairly even incline with the highest part in the northwestern corner. This action stimulated the rivers to a new cycle of erosion as they cut into hard crystalline rocks. The softer sandstones of the central valley yielded more rapidly and river terraces were formed. Modern Hartford rests on one of these terraces.

The final great geologic force which completed the task of

shaping Connecticut's topography was glaciation. The climate became extremely cold as huge sheets of ice—hundreds of feet thick—moved inexorably southward over Connecticut. The great weight of the ice carried enormous quantities of soil, stones and even bedrock. Much of our soil ended in Long Island Sound, but in turn, soil and boulders from northern New England were deposited here. Over thousands of years the climate gradually warmed up and the ice slowly melted. The earlier valleys and highlands were little affected by the glaciers, although they moved soil around, rounded the tops of hills and scratched, gouged and polished rocks forming striae. As the glaciers melted, loose material accumulated in small hills or drumlins—especially in the northeast. In addition, the melting glaciers formed sand plains, clay beds and serpentine ridges. In several cases the glacial debris radically altered a river's course. The Farmington River, which once flowed southward into the Sound at New Haven, was diverted northward through an ancient gap at Tariffville and then easterly to the Connecticut River at Windsor. The glacier scoured out a rock hole 108 feet deep—whose bottom is 82 feet below sea level—now known as Lake Saltonstall. By destroying drainage patterns the glacier formed most of the more than 1,000 lakes and 400 swamps in Connecticut. While glaciers carried off much topsoil, they vastly enriched the land with hundreds of beautiful lakes and ponds, lovely waterfalls, picturesque drumlins, ridges and boulders as well as fine harbors. There can be no doubt that they added greatly to the charm of Connecticut's landscape.

The early settlers enjoyed one great asset envied by modern man—sparkling clean air and water. Without the pollutants of industrialized society Indians and whites breathed pure air, drank clean water and had no reason to worry about the ecology of their country.

Connecticut's Indians

When Thomas Hooker reached Hartford in 1636, there were perhaps 6,000 or 7,000 Indians in Connecticut. The population probably was much larger earlier, but a deadly plague in 1616-17 killed thousands of New England Indians. They were thickest along the coast, perhaps because fishing offered an easier and more reliable subsistence than hunting. Even along the coast, however, their population was relatively low. In 1638 the Quinnipiacs, residents of the attractive area from Milford to Madison, told John Davenport that they had only forty-seven men—which translated into about 250 persons for the tribe. Even the Pequots, most dreaded of all local Indians, could marshal only 500 to 600 warriors. Yet the Indians greatly outnumbered the Puritans for a number of years, and had the potential power to annihilate them.

All of the tribes belonged to the loose Algonkin confederation, but they constantly quarreled with each other, allowing the whites to play one tribe against another. While each tribe apparently spoke a different tongue, there were enough similarities that members of different Connecticut tribes could understand each other. J. Hammond Trumbull in his famous study of Indian languages described four distinct Algonkin dialects in Connecticut and nearby areas: (1) Pequot-Mohegan; (2) Niantic and Narraganset (into Rhode Island, also); (3) Nipmuck (into Massachusetts); and (4) Quinipi (Quinnipiac).

Precise well-documented information about Connecticut Indians and their civilization is tantalizingly fragmentary. They left no written records so we are dependent for information on archaeological evidence and writings of contemporary whites who observed their customs and culture. While there is little documented evidence about the origins of North American Indians, most scholars agree that they crossed the Bering Straits from Asia about 10,000 or 11,000 years ago. In Connecticut investigations have been made in at least eighty archaeological sites, but the picture obtained of Indian culture has been frustratingly incomplete.

Despite this, certain generalizations seem valid. Both archaeological and contemporary historical accounts indicate that the local Indians practiced far more than a hunting-fishing economy. Vegetable products seem to have ranked first among foods, with fish and shellfish second, and mammals and birds, third. This shift from "hunter-gatherer" to horticulturist occurred in Connecticut about 1,000 A.D. if the local situation paralleled that in New York—which probably was the case.

Maize (Indian corn) appears to have comprised the mainstay of Indian diet, and was eaten in porridge and unleavened cakes.

They [illegible] enjoyed maize boiled on the ear, roasted and even popped. They relished succotash—a mixture of maize and beans boiled together in an earthen pot. Sometimes the mixture was seasoned with fish, or with ground nuts and artichokes, thickened with a flour formed from powdered nuts. Much maize was turned into cornmeal and hominy. For winter's use they stored dried maize and fish in large pits. Women seem to have performed most of the labor in planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops. Indians capitalized on various noncultivated foods such as acorns, chestnuts, walnuts, currants, huckleberries, plums and strawberries.

Many kinds of fish and shellfish were caught by Connecticut's Indians. While the archaeological and ethnographic reports particularly stress sturgeon, many other varieties are mentioned including bass, bluefish, bream, carp, catfish, cod, haddock, hake, halibut, herring, mackerel, pickerel, pike, salmon, shad, smelt and swordfish. They employed several methods of fishing including lines to harpoon them by means of a sharp jagged bone. Also, they used weirs. Women and children searched the coasts for lobsters, clams and other shellfish. Archaeological sites consistently reveal shellfish remains.

The hunting prowess of the Indian is legendary. Archaeological sites indicate that the white-tailed deer probably contributed the most meat to the Indian diet. Connecticut Indians hunted deer with bow and arrow, as well as traps. Deerhunting season seems to have been in fall and winter. Like modern deerhunters they preferred ample snow cover for tracking and slowing them down. Early writers on Indians agree that the next most frequently hunted animal was the bear. Indians succeeded by various methods—bow and arrow, traps and surrounding the lair and hatcheting the hibernating animal. They also hunted the beaver and otter for their warm skins, and the wolf because they considered it a dangerous pest.

Connecticut Indians like all those in New England were basically stationary in that each tribe remained within recognized tribal lands. Within this fixed area they moved about according to weather and food sources. Because of their desire to move fairly frequently their homes were of light construction and easily built and dismantled. At times they would move to the coast and enjoy fishing. As bitter weather approached they might withdraw into a sh[illegible]red valley amply supplied with firewood. Some tribes had fortified villages. The houses were usually located very close to each other, but a space was reserved in the center for ceremonies and public business. To build a house poles were set in the ground, bent together and fastened at the top. Daniel Gookin, writing in 1674, described their houses as usually twenty to forty feet long, but occasionally as much as one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide. The better houses were carefully covered with bark and stayed very warm. Reeds and rushes often were used to thatch the roof. Around the fortified village was a solid barrier of young trees firmly entrenched in the earth and forming a palisade ten to twelve feet high. At the ends the fence overlapped to form a narrow passage which was blocked at night by piles of brushwood.

The furnishings of the typical house were extremely simple. John DeForest claims that Indians had advanced enough to have bedsteads constructed of light framework and covered with skins. Crude wooden bowls made from hard woods, baskets often tastefully decorated, pails, pots and bowls of baked earth often with pointed bottoms and large wooden spoons constituted the majority of the implements in daily use.

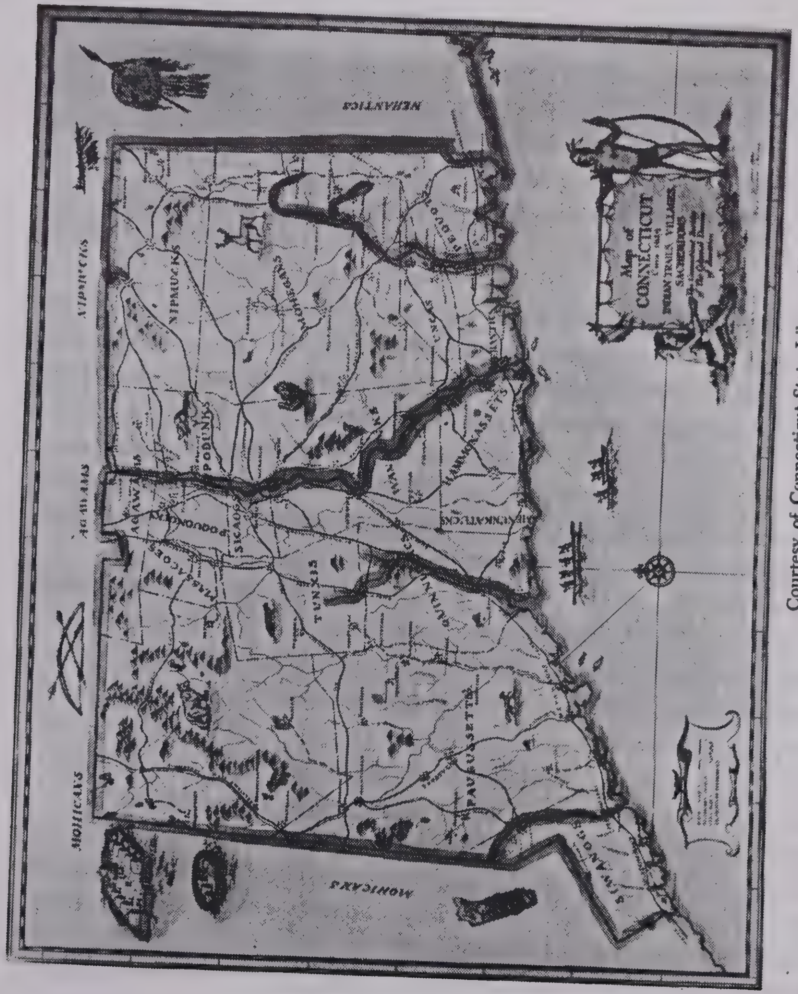
In New England tribes the medicine man or powwow played an influential role. He was thought to possess supernatural powers. Since Indians had little medicine as such they relied heavily on the medicine man to rout evil spirits from the body.

Algonkin religions varied among tribes but shared a lack of systematic dogma or scriptures. Roger Williams and John Eliot who came to know the Indians intimately asserted they believed the soul immortal though they could not grasp resurrection in the Christian meaning.

Among the important Indian contributions to Connecticut was the name "Connecticut" itself. In the Algonkin language *Quinnetukut* and variants such as *Quenticutt*, *Quinetucquet* and *Quanehta-cut* all meant "on the long tidal river," an appropriate name for the area. "Connecticut" simply represented in writing what the early colonists thought they heard the Indians saying.

Location of the Various Tribes

When the whites arrived in Connecticut, there were about



Courtesy of Connecticut State Library. Photo by Clarence Casabella

Map of Indian trails, tribes and villages.

s en separate Indian tribes. In central Connecticut lived the Podunks whose village Adriaen Block visited in 1614. In 1631 Wahginnacut, a Podunk chief, visited Plymouth and Boston describing the beauty and trading potential of the Connecticut Valley. They strongly desired English settlers as protection against the Pequots. The Podunks dwelled along the Connecticut River from modern Warehouse Point to Manchester and Glastonbury and inland to Bolton and Vernon.

In Hartford Hooker's company encountered the Saukiogs, ruled by Sequassen. In 1636 he sold all of the future Hartford and West Hartford to the English. Because of recent defeats by the Pequots and Mohegans the Saukiogs cultivated the friendship of the colonists. Sequassen himself later became angered by the English alliance with Uncas and supposedly hired an assassin to kill Governor John Haynes, Governor Edward Hopkins and William Whiting. Apparently he intended to blame Uncas and the Mohegans for the murder. The plot miscarried, Sequassen fled, and the Mohegans carried him to Hartford for trial. Since the plot could not be proved, however, Sequassen was freed. There is a possibility that Uncas himself may have engineered the entire plot.

Farther south at Pyquag (Wethersfield) lived the Wangunks with their sachem Sequin, father of Sequassen. The tribe controlled an area from Wethersfield and Middletown east to East Hampton, south to Haddam and west to Berlin and Meriden.

In the northeast, centered in Massachusetts, resided the Nipmucks. Many, however, lived in the future Somers, Stafford, Union, Woodstock, Thompson and Putnam. Quite peaceable by nature, they tended to be dominated by neighboring tribes. One of these just to their south was the Mohegans. They had recently split from the Pequots because Uncas, rejected as Pequot chieftain, led a walkout to the north. Uncas seems to have been a perpetual agitator and plotter who managed to keep Indians and whites constantly embroiled in dissensions. The Mohegans certainly ranked with the Pequots as one of the most powerful tribes in Connecticut.

The Pequots inhabited the southeast coastal corner of Connecticut with their strength concentrated in the Mystic River section. Recent migrants from the Hudson River region, they had moved southeasterly bisecting the Nehantics (Niantics). Because

III The Pioneer White Settlers of Connecticut

The Dutch Vie with the English

In 1614 a Dutchman, Adriaen Block, and a few companions sailed up the unexplored Connecticut River in a small boat just forty-four and one-half feet long. They reached the site of the future Hartford and may have gone as far north as the falls at Enfield. The first whites known to have explored the river, they named it the Fresh River or Fresh Water.

For a number of years the Dutch were content to carry on a trade in beaver skins with Indians along the river. In the 1620's plans were drawn up for fortified posts, and the first site acquired at the mouth of the river was named Kievit's Hoeck. A few years later on June 8, 1633, Jacob Van Curler bought from the Pequots, owners by conquest, a small piece of land where the city of Hartford is now located. The Dutch moved rapidly to build a small fort, named it the House of Good Hope and invited Indian trade.

The Dutch narrowly won the race for first white settlement in the Hartford area. Highly encouraging reports on the fertility of the Connecticut River Valley had reached both the Plymouth and Boston areas in 1631 from visiting Indians who feared the Pequot tribe. Intrigued by these glowing reports, in 1632 Edward Winslow of Plymouth explored the Connecticut River to ascertain the possibilities for fur trade and actual colonization.

Encouraged by Winslow's optimistic description of the area, the Plymouth Colony sent a small expedition under William Holmes to do some trading. When he reached a point opposite the Dutch fort, they brusquely ordered him to stop while they investigated his intentions. Unruffled, he announced that he had a Plymouth commission authorizing him to proceed upstream to trade. Despite Dutch threats to blow them up, Holmes and his men moved forward unharmed. On September 26, 1633, the Holmes company reached a location, purchased earlier from Indians, where they set up a house frame carried from Plymouth. Around it they erected a stockade to ward off possible Indian or Dutch encroachment. Thus Windsor was founded.

The Dutch did not allow this direct challenge to go unanswered. They sent seventy men against the little settlement, but encountered such a resolute defense that they withdrew without firing a shot. Later the Dutch tried to locate a settlement upstream from Windsor, but a smallpox epidemic among the Indians foiled the plan.

Neither the Dutch nor the Plymouth group remained in control of the area for long as many new settlers arrived the next few years. One of these groups came from Dorchester, Massachusetts. This band of people originally sailed from Plymouth, England, in 1630 under two ministers—John Maverick and John Warham. Among their lay leaders were Edward Rossiter, Roger Ludlow and John Mason. This select company, numbering 140 in all, arrived at Nantasket on May 30, 1630. Soon afterwards they settled at nearby Dorchester.

In the summer of 1635 a vanguard of this group settled at Windsor near the Plymouth group. In November an additional sixty men, women and children, plus livestock, reached Windsor. The fates were most unkind and winter arrived unbelievably early. By mid-November the river had frozen over and expected provisions could not get through. Fearing starvation a few fled by land back to Massachusetts. Actually facing starvation, many of the others went to the river's mouth looking for their provisions ship. Not finding it, they went aboard the *Rebecca,* a vessel temporarily frozen in the ice. A providential rain fell, freeing them, and the half-starved, demoralized pioneers sailed to Boston. The few brave souls who dared to remain in Windsor suffered appallingly. Somehow by hunting and begging aid from friendly Indians they survived the winter though many of their cattle died.

The next spring Warham and others arrived and swelled the total to more than one-half the original population of Dorchester. Ignoring the Plymouth title to Windsor, they proceeded to erect houses on high ground above the river. Their action in occupying part of the land Plymouth purchased from the Indians created much bitterness. The Plymouth settlers complained with much justification that they had gone to great trouble and expense in establishing the Windsor settlement. Yet nothing could be done about the interlopers. Massachusetts Bay Colony's resources greatly ex-

ceed[illegible] those of Plymouth. Eventually, after an acrimonious dispute, the matter was settled in 1637 by Plymouth selling most of its Connecticut land to the Dorchester group. A residue of ill will continued for many years.

Founding of Wethersfield and Hartford

Meanwhile Wethersfield, the second of the English river towns, had been started, though there is uncertainty about the exact date of its founding. In 1633 John Oldham, the restless adventurer of Dorchester, visited the Connecticut River and traded with the Indians. He may have visited the future site of Wethersfield. In the fall of 1634 he and eight or nine companions came to Pyquag (Indian name for Wethersfield) where they built temporary houses for the winter. Oldham himself, always on the move, probably soon left. The next spring brought settlers from Watertown, Massachusetts. In 1635 and 1636 about thirty Watertown families arrived and were augmented by others, including a few directly from England. Unlike Windsor and Hartford which were settled by large church groups as *units,* Wethersfield was established much more by *individuals* with no official connections to Massachusetts.

The most renowned of the three original river settlements—Hartford—was founded last. In June 1636 Hooker's company left Newtown and spent about two weeks migrating to Hartford. About 100 people and 160 head of cattle plus goats and pigs comprised the company.

This group came last because they were the most careful in obtaining legal clearance from the Massachusetts Bay government. From a strict legal viewpoint all of the 1633-35 settlers were simply squatters. The best title to Connecticut land at that time was the Warwick Patent. In 1632 Robert, Earl of Warwick, conveyed to certain men a large amount of land in New England including Connecticut. The patent merely bestowed land and did not grant governmental powers or create a corporation.

In 1635 six of the grantees persuaded John Winthrop, Jr., to establish a colony in Connecticut with him as governor. In November he sent about twenty men to make a settlement at Saybrook, though he did not come until April 1636. The following March a fort was erected by Lion Gardiner, a skilled engineer. He had come to Saybrook with a commission from the Fenwick g[illegible]p to direct the defense of the mouth of the river.

Saybrook's establishment posed a challenge to the Hooker company. Eventually a clever compromise was achieved whereby Hooker and associates recognized the Warwick claims as legal and acknowledged Winthrop as governor. In return, Winthrop and associates approved the proposed Hooker settlement. Both groups then approached the Massachusetts General Court for a specific enactment. On March 3, 1635/36, the Court issued a commission authorizing eight men, who were in Connecticut or about to go, to govern, establish courts and even wage war. They were empowered to convene inhabitants of the towns to act as a general court. So at last Connecticut's river settlements seemed to have a legal basis!

The Pequots Threaten the Infant Colony

The single exception to the rule of Indian-white friendship was the Pequots. The trouble began between the Pequots and the Dutch. Some Indians trading with the Dutch were killed by Pequots. The Dutch, seeking revenge, accidentally killed Wopigwooit, a Pequot chieftain. The Pequots, in turn, sought revenge on the first whites to present themselves and wiped out a small group of traders under Captain John Stone of Virginia.

After this the Pequots became concerned about their reputation. They wanted trade with the colonists so they sent two sets of emissaries to Boston with presents and pledges of good behavior. Eventually an agreement was concluded by which the Pequots promised to turn over the slayers of Stone's party and allow the English to have freedom of settlement in Connecticut. For their part the English agreed to a friendly trade with the Pequots.

Peace was short-lived. In 1636 John Oldham set out on a trading expedition to Long Island Sound. Near Block Island Indians suddenly attacked and brutally killed him. The murder produced horror in Boston where demands for quick revenge sounded. A careful investigation revealed that Block Island Indians were guilty, but the Pequots had provided them refuge. Therefore an expedition of ninety men under Captain John Endecott set out for Block Island. The Indians escaped but much property was destroyed.

The[illegible]ndecott's forces went to Saybrook. Lion Gardiner pleaded with them not to attack the Pequots because, as he worded it, "you come hith[e]r to raise thes wasps about my eares, and then you will take wing and flee away." Gardiner was only too correct in his prediction. The expedition failed to force a battle and settled for large-scale ravaging of crops, canoes and wigwams. The infuriated Pequots hardly could wait to wreak vengeance.

As the first step in a design to eliminate all English settlements in Connecticut, the Pequots began a nearly continuous siege of the Saybrook fort. To intimidate the whites, the Indians, keeping themselves just out of range, "would imitate the dying Groans and Invocations of the poor Captive English." During the siege Lion Gardiner's son, David, was born on April 29, 1636—the first recorded white birth in Connecticut.

The Pequot danger increased greatly through their plans for a close alliance with the Narragansets. This so alarmed the Boston authorities that they asked Roger Williams for aid in preventing it. Although Williams had suffered banishment at the hands of Massachusetts, he immediately set out by canoe through stormy seas to visit the Narragansets. While the extent of his influence is uncertain, it is entirely possible that his intervention was crucial in their decision not to ally with the Pequots.

As if the siege of Saybrook, the murder of Oldham and the wooing of the Narragansets were not enough evidence of the Pequots' hostility, they soon provided more. In April 1637 a band of Pequots surprised a group of whites working in a meadow along the river at Wethersfield. In a brief but sanguinary engagement at least six men and three women were killed and two young women seized. Making their escape downstream the Pequots celebrated the event as they passed Saybrook fort by waving some of their victims' clothes on poles!

Outbreak of War Against the Pequots

In the river towns many felt they no longer could tolerate the Pequot menace. On May 1, 1637, the General Court at Hartford voted to wage an offensive war and summoned ninety men—forty-two from Hartford, thirty from Windsor and eighteen from Wethersfield. They selected John Mason as commander and voted one

hogshead of beer for the men. They assigned each town a quota of provisions.

While the expedition was being organized an unwelcome and embarrassing offer of assistance came from Uncas. After his separation from the Pequots he had been seeking a chance to overthrow Sassacus, the Pequot chieftain. Uncas nurtured great ambitions to regain control of the Pequots and even oust Miantonomo, the chief of the Narragansets. Through an alliance with the English he saw the opportunity to reach his goals. His offer of the services of himself and eighty warriors caused very mixed reactions. Despite strong objections, Mason insisted on acceptance.

In mid-May the joint expedition left Hartford. Uncas and his Mohegans got permission to go on ahead to Saybrook where Gardiner received them with considerable suspicion. Determined to test their loyalty, he asked them to send twenty warriors after six Pequots who had passed the previous night. The Pequots must be brought back dead or alive, or he would dissolve the alliance. When they killed four Pequots and took one prisoner, Gardiner was convinced.

Upon Mason's arrival at Saybrook a serious discussion on future strategy took place. Most of the men wanted to attack the Pequots directly. Captain Mason, impressed by the great dangers involved in a direct assault against superior numbers of Pequots at the Mystic River, proposed an attack from the rear via Narragansett Bay. Because of much intense opposition to the plan the group asked the chaplain, the Reverend Thomas Stone, to seek divine guidance. After spending the night in prayer, he told the men the next morning that he felt divine approval had been indicated. So the Narragansett Bay plan was adopted and nineteen Massachusetts men under Captain Underhill joined forces.

The small fleet then sailed past the Pequot harbor where the jeering Pequots assumed that the palefaces lacked courage to attack them. In an exultant mood the Pequots made plans for further attacks against the river towns.

When Mason's expedition arrived in Narraganset territory, they received a cordial welcome. Miantonomo, however, warned them of the Pequots' great prowess. To Mason's delight a band of Narragansets volunteered for service and joined in the march

westward. For some peculiar reason the nearer the little army came to the Pequots the lower the enthusiasm of the Narragansets for attack and the more they fell behind! When Mason learned that the Pequots held two forts, he determined to attack the nearer one. In the distance he and his men could hear the Pequots singing "until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing."

A Surprise for the Pequots

Later in the night the men marched close to the Pequot fort, which was surrounded by a wall of logs standing on end. Inside on each side of a middle lane stood many huts with roofs composed of straw mats. Mason and his men crept silently toward one gate while Underhill and his force approached the other. As Mason arrived within fifteen feet of an entrance a dog barked and an Indian cried *"Owanux,"* meaning *"Englishmen."* The force rushed the gate with Mason leading the way over a brush pile. Seeing no Indians inside Mason ran into a wigwam. Immediately Indians sprang up around him. At this moment, one of his soldiers entered the wigwam and created enough confusion so Mason escaped. Outside he reorganized his forces at each end of the fort. Although the Indians were dazed, they still much outnumbered the whites. Seizing a firebrand from a wigwam Mason threw it into the roof mat. It caught and a strong wind spread flames over the fort. Mason and his men escaped and tightened their ring around the fort. Most of the Pequots either died in the flames or were slain outside. In this surprisingly complete victory Mason saw the working of God's will. Most modern readers are more likely to react with feelings of great horror.

For the victorious Mason forces the moment actually was one of great danger. Sassacus and his warriors from the second fort had learned of the attack. The Narragansets had deserted, leaving the whites and Mohegans to face an infuriated foe. Moreover, twenty men were needed to carry a few badly wounded soldiers so only about forty whites remained. They hurried toward the shore uncertain when their boats would arrive. Suddenly in the distance they saw their vessels entering the harbor just as 300 Pequots approached. Mason audaciously attacked them with a small detachment. This temporarily checked the Pequots while Mason's force resumed its retreat to their boats. The Pequots then discovered that their fort was incinerated and shouting epithets they resumed the pursuit. Once again the rear guard fired and halted the onrush. Soon afterwards the Pequots abandoned the action. Mason's expedition had scored a complete triumph!

This catastrophic defeat produced an internal crisis within the Pequot tribe. Many members blamed Sassacus for the defeat and some even advocated killing him. In a tribal council three courses were debated: (1) a revenge attack against the English; (2) the same against the Narragansets; or (3) flight westward. Sassacus wished to fight, but those favoring flight won so the entire tribe retreated westward.

Meanwhile Mason's victorious army returned home to great acclamation. Two weeks later came news that Massachusetts' ships with 120 men under Captain Israel Stoughton had arrived to fight the Pequots. The General Court, meeting at Hartford on June 26, 1637, empowered John Haynes and Roger Ludlow to confer at Mystic Harbor with the Massachusetts spokesmen. In quick order this delegation agreed to pursue and attack the retreating Pequots.

Decimation of the Pequots

Meanwhile the terrified Pequots were moving very slowly because of the children and the need to secure food. As a result the white forces rapidly overtook them. Finally the pursuers sighted the Indians across a swamp in Fairfield. When the Pequots saw the enemy, they took refuge in the swamp.

The problem of how to destroy the Indian power necessitated a council of war. Some proposed surrounding the swamp before penetrating it. In all likelihood this would mean the death of many women and children. Thomas Stanton, competent in the Pequot language, offered to enter the swamp and negotiate with the Pequots. Many advised against such a hazardous venture, but Stanton insisted. Many expected to be killed. Hours later he walked out of the swamp followed by 200 women, children and old men.

That night Captains John Mason and Daniel Patrick (of Massachusetts) placed their forces to surround the swamp as completely as possible. Just before dawn the Pequots, shouting loudly, tried several times to break through the cordon before sixty or seventy

lly knifed their way through. The remainder, except for a few slain, were captured—adding another 180 prisoners. The few who escaped suffered an even worse fate among Indians to the west. As a special mark of friendship the Mohawk Indians sent the head of Sassacus to Connecticut authorities.

The desperate Pequot survivors volunteered to become English subjects as the price for their lives. After a study of the situation the colonists divided the remnant among the Mohegans, Narragansets and Nehantics. The Pequots swore to renounce their name and their territory. The decimated remnant no longer existed as a real tribe and soon was only a vivid memory. If the Pequots had moved more swiftly and decisively against the colonists, it is entirely possible that they could have wiped out the River Colony. Instead, the settlers now had a military hero in John Mason and, more important, a feeling of security against Indian attack.

Springfield Lost but Other Towns Gained

In 1636 William Pynchon arrived with a few companions in two shallops at Springfield where they built a trading house, first on the west bank and later on the east. This settlement was thought by its founders to be a part of Connecticut. Located only twenty-four miles upstream from Hartford, Springfield logically should have remained in Connecticut.

Perhaps as a means of binding the Springfield settlement closer to the river towns the General Court voted Pynchon a monopoly of the Indian trade up the river in return for providing Indian corn. A month later the General Court, at a session attended by Pynchon, considered a complaint that he had not expanded the corn trade as much as expected and fined him forty bushels of corn. Never again did Pynchon attend the General Court.

Gradually the split between Pynchon and Connecticut deepened. Hooker strongly opposed Massachusetts' claim to Springfield and resented Pynchon's support for it. In economic matters the two areas varied sharply as Springfield emphasized fur trade; the lower towns, agriculture. In 1641 Massachusetts appointed Pynchon a magistrate and judge for Springfield. At the organization of the New England Confederation in 1643, Springfield joined as part of Massachusetts.

Photo by Ray Mainwaring

The Stanley-Whitman House (1660) in Farmington.

Connecticut found consolation for this loss in the addition of several new towns. On January 16, 1639/40, the General Court authorized six men to survey the Tunxis River area for possible settlement. A little later a small number of settlers journeyed ten miles over the hills west of Hartford to settle. In 1645 the River Colony officially renamed the Tunxis settlement Farmington.

Meanwhile another colony, Saybrook, was experiencing very difficult times. Appointed as governor was the highly talented John Winthrop, Jr. Unfortunately the restless Winthrop gave the infant colony little of his time or energies beyond procuring supplies. When the formidable Pequot threat became evident, Winthrop tried to negotiate with them but failed. At this critical juncture he suddenly abandoned the endangered colony and returned to Boston. Unquestionably this irresponsible desertion represented the nadir

of his eventful career for he had calculated the immediate prospects of Saybrook as minimal and cold-bloodedly decided to employ his skills in more promising fields.

Saybrook survived his defection, but for years made very slow progress as none of the Puritan "men of quality" who had planned to settle there came. In fact the colony remained merely a small trading fort. In 1639 George Fenwick, head of Saybrook Colony from 1639-44, received a distinguished delegation of River Colony leaders—Deputy Governor Roger Ludlow, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Wells—to discuss the proposed confederation with Massachusetts. In April 1644 Fenwick was elected a Connecticut magistrate. Late that year an agreement was consummated which for all practical purposes made Saybrook a part of the River Colony. Fenwick conveyed the fort and the land, but not the jurisdiction, to Connecticut's perpetual use. While it seems likely that the consent of all the other Saybrook grantees really was needed, it never was obtained. Fenwick returned permanently to England, held important posts under Cromwell and lost any serious interest in Saybrook. From December 1644 on, Saybrook operated as a town in the River Colony with full rights and responsibilities. The town's strategic location assured control of the lower Connecticut River.

Another very strategic location—the mouth of the Thames River—early attracted settlers. In 1642 the Court granted 500 acres to Captain Mason and 500 more to soldiers who had served under him in the Pequot War. In April 1642 the Court provided for a broader distribution of 10,000 acres, but the enterprising John Winthrop, Jr., managed to make the first white settlement there. In 1644 he obtained a Massachusetts grant "at or near Pequott." In 1645 he explored the ground around the mouth of the Thames and probably actually started a small settlement. Not until 1646, however, did most of the permanent settlers arrive. Winthrop remained cool and circumspect as he presided over a colony claimed by both Massachusetts and Connecticut. The New England Confederation considered the disputed jurisdiction and decided in favor of Connecticut. Winthrop received a warm welcome from the River Colony which in 1648 commissioned him a magistrate and in 1651 elected him an assistant in the small aristocratic upper house of the legislature. In 1658 the town's name officially changed from Pequot

to New London. Aided by Connecticut's finest harbor and a growing agricultural hinterland, New London rapidly developed into an important seaport.

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Evolving a Framework of Government

When the River Colony began, its government consisted of eight magistrates named by the Massachusetts General Court. Since the River Colony had no intention of remaining under Massachusetts' rule, this form of government constituted only a stopgap. Stimulated by the Pequot crisis, the three towns set up a General Court which held its first session on May 1, 1637. The membership of fifteen men consisted of nine elected from the three towns plus six magistrates chosen in turn by the nine.

Even this enlarged body provided only a legislature not an overall framework of government. Apparently the need for a genuine system of government greatly concerned Hooker, for he delivered an important sermon on May 31, 1638, in which he outlined certain basic principles:

> I That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.
>
> II The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.
>
> III They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Hooker believed that successful government required "the free consent of the people."

It seems almost certain that Hooker's sermon deeply influenced those who later in 1638 devised the new governmental document. Unfortunately we lack information as to who worked on it and how it was adopted. The brevity and the logical organization of the final document suggest that an able lawyer authored it. At the time the only trained lawyer in the colony was Roger Ludlow of Windsor—educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple, London. Probably the General Court approved the finished work.

The Fundamental Orders consisted of a preamble followed by eleven "orders." Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor joined to-

gether to form "an Orderly and decent Gouerment established according to God to Order and dispose of the affayres of the people." This formed a *civil* covenant corresponding to the *religious* covenant adopted by each Congregational church.

The new frame of government provided for a General Court to convene each April and September. At the April session the qualified voters would elect a governor and at least six magistrates for a one-year term. No person could succeed himself as governor. This did not preclude choosing a popular person as governor alternate years, and John Haynes and Edward Hopkins alternated in the 1639-54 period, excepting one year. The governor had to belong to an approved congregation (no religious heretics or nonbelievers permitted!) and have experience as a magistrate.

Each of the three towns should elect four deputies and future towns would be entitled to whatever number the Court thought fit. No religious requirements for voting were established. While a deputy could speak freely for his town, the towns were required to obey all laws passed by the Court. Thus the supremacy of the General Court over the individual towns was clearly enunciated.

While the governor convened the Court, it could be dissolved only at its own behest. The magistrates with the governor composed a court to administer justice. Fear of overpowerful magistrates—stemming from the Massachusetts experience and Hooker's opposition—surfaced in several provisions. If the governor or a majority of the magistrates failed to convene the Court, the freemen could call a meeting on their own initiative.

The Fundamental Orders explained in some detail just how elections should be held and who could vote. For instance, only "admitted Inhabitants" could vote for the deputies from each town. At that time only adult males, who usually belonged to the local Puritan church, were "admitted." Certainly excluded from the franchise were all women, children, apprentices, indentured servants, Negroes and Indians. One definitely did *not* have to be a member of the Congregational Church to be "admitted," however. In case the General Court found the election in any town illegal it could order the holding of a new election.

The powers of the General Court were fairly broad: to make and repeal laws, levy taxes. admit freemen, grant undisposed lands to towns or persons, call into question any individual for misdemeanors and "deale in any other matter that concerns the good of this common welth excepte election of Magestrats. . . ."

As a whole the Fundamental Orders constitute only a brief outline of government—much less detailed than New Haven's fundamentals of 1639 and 1643. No procedural rules were prescribed for the General Court, nor was there provision for a speaker. Moreover there was no division of executive, legislative, judicial and administrative authority.

The Fundamental Orders have been called such grandiose things as the world's first written constitution, and America's first democratic constitution. However, leading scholars have differed in their interpretation. Charles M. Andrews of Yale adopted a negative view on all such claims. He observed that the word "fundamental" was ordinarily used by New England Puritans to mean a general law. He believed that the authors of the Fundamental Orders did not conceive of them as an organic law. In fact they were considered fair game for frequent additions and alterations. In the opposite camp one finds such astute students of Connecticut history as George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University and William M. Maltbie, Chief Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court, 1930-50. Dutcher declared that the Fundamental Orders "with some amendment served the settlers as their constitution until they received the charter from Charles II in 1662." Judge Maltbie felt that Connecticut's leaders and people of the 1639-62 period considered them a constitution.

The latest study of the Fundamental Orders—Mary Jeanne Anderson Jones' *Congregational Commonwealth*—conceives the Orders "a formal written constitution." She sees them as realizing the Puritan ideal of making church and state "virtually synonymous." She makes no claims for them, however, as America's or the world's first written constitution. To this writer the Orders do not appear basic and organic enough to merit the title of "constitution" and "framework of government" seems more accurate.

Davenport and Eaton Plan a New Colony

A remarkably unified group of stanch Puritans founded New Haven in 1638. Their counterpart of Thomas Hooker was John

Davenport. As a young man he had received training at Oxford University and after a long interruption graduated. In time he took over the parish of St. Stephen's in the heart of London. As head of a parish of 1,400 communicants, he led an extremely active life. During the dangerous plague of 1625 he endeared himself to his parishioners by his visits to the afflicted.

With Laud's accession to the bishopric of London, Davenport's position became steadily more precarious. An unscrupulous assistant brought charges of disallowed Puritan practices against him. He managed to clear himself but certainly Laud's agents henceforth kept close surveillance over his activities. Various events in the 1628-33 period gradually undermined his hopes of reforming the Church of England. In 1633 both John Cotton and Hooker pressed him to join them in migration to America. Though moved by their entreaties, and now an ardent Puritan, he still refused.

The appointment of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1633 crushed Davenport's final hopes. The next day he hurriedly left London and prepared for migration. About mid-November, disguised behind a large beard, wearing a gray suit and posing as a merchant, he crossed the Channel to Holland.

Like Hooker he found life in Holland uncongenial. After brief experiences in Amsterdam and Rotterdam he quietly returned to London. He found his former parish of St. Stephen's suffering and England badly rent by political and religious conflict. New England appeared to be the only solution to an intolerable situation.

At this moment his trusted friend, the merchant Theophilus Eaton, suddenly appeared. He had enjoyed a remarkably successful career in the Baltic trade but strong Puritan beliefs also pushed him toward America. With his wealth and business acumen he proved an ideal choice as the joint guiding force with Davenport in organizing a large group of colonists.

Working smoothly together Davenport and Eaton gathered their Puritan followers. The Eaton and Davenport families, some relatives, many St. Stephen's parishioners and about twenty families from the London neighborhood constituted the company. Puritans of the strictest type, many of them wealthy, the Davenport-Eaton group sought above all to found a true Bible State in New England.

The expedition sailed in May 1637. Apparently their safe arrival in Boston produced feelings of genuine joy as Governor Winthrop wrote in his *Journal* for June 26, 1637: "There arrived two ships from London, the *Hector* and the [blank]. In these came Mr. Davenport and another minister, and Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two merchants of London, men of fair estate and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in outward affairs."

The immediate concern of the new arrivals was to find a favorable site for permanent settlement. The Bay Colony offered various locations but none appealed to the group, dominated as it was by London merchants who wanted above all a good harbor.

Founding the Colony at New Haven

As a result of the Pequot War glowing reports came to Boston about Quinnipiac (New Haven) with its fertile land and fine harbor. Many thought it would be a great pity for so promising an area to fall into Dutch hands. Early in September Eaton and a few associates visited the Quinnipiac site which impressed them so highly that a few men apparently remained over the winter to hold their claim.

Eaton and his friends observed that they had found their Promised Land. Spurring them on further was the growing dissension within the Bay Colony, particularly Anne Hutchinson with her heretical ideas. This and other internal disaffection convinced the Davenport-Eaton company to create their own Bible State as rapidly as possible. Because of the smallness of the group they solicited volunteers. Among those accepting was the Reverend Peter Prudden, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and some Puritans from Hertfordshire.

On April 24, 1638, in the fresh beauty of early spring, the Puritan company landed on the shores of New Haven Bay. On the next day, a Sabbath, John Davenport convened his company under a huge oak tree where they heard him preach on an appropriate text from St. Matthew: "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." In the afternoon Mr. Prudden followed on the subject "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

The settlers found the nearby Indians friendly and by treaties

sig in November and December 1638 and May 1645 were able to acquire large areas of land which covered coastal and inland areas, including the future Cheshire, Wallingford and parts of Orange, Bethany, Prospect, Woodbridge and Meriden. In the first treaty the Indians sold all their Quinnipiac lands, reserving hunting and fishing rights, for twelve coats of English cloth, twelve spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors. The Indians were so impressed by Davenport's bookish habits that they called him "So *big study man.*" White-Indian relations in this area were amicable—probably a direct outgrowth of a conscious attempt by the whites to deal fairly.

The center of New Haven took its distinctive form early when surveyor John Brockett divided the town plot into nine squares, with the center one reserved for a market place. It became the famous and still beautiful New Haven Green. The other eight squares soon proved inadequate in size and two "suburbs" were added.

Organizing a Strict Bible State

Not until 1639 did the New Haven Puritans formally move to organize their church. Citing the Scriptures as "a perfect rule" for men, they voted to select twelve men who in turn would choose seven as the founders of their permanent church and state. Named as the seven pillars were Davenport, Eaton, Jeremy Dixon, Thomas Fugill, Mathew Gilbert, Robert Newman and John Ponderson. The profession of faith of these seven indicated little doctrinal variance from the Church of England. The large differences were found in church government and form of service. The church covenant was completed in August 1639 and served as the model for later churches on the Sound.

The New Haven Colony differed sharply from the River Colony in that it required "that church members onely shall be free burgesses, and thatt they onely shall chuse magistrates & officers among themselues to haue the power of transacting all the publique ciuill affayres of this Plantatio[n] . . . ." The River Colony never made church membership a requirement for civil voting. New Haven, however, created a theocracy, or church-state, in which a carefully regulated church membership completely dominated the polit state. It appears that New Haven took as its guide a code of laws prepared by John Cotton called "Moses his judicials."

Not until October 25, 1639, did the seven pillars launch the civil government which they considered secondary to the religious one. They could select nine persons from approved churches as burgesses, thus increasing the electorate to the lofty total of sixteen!

Still uncertain of the colony's safety, the court required that each man must furnish himself with a sword, a bandoleer, a musket, powder and bullets. A guard was organized in June 1640 and later commanded by Captain Nathaniel Turner. Even on Sunday those on duty were expected to be completely armed and others to bring their swords.

The small New Haven Colony seemed to have everything in its favor—able leadership, a well-disciplined homogenous population, high morals and morale, a strong sense of purpose and much wealth. In 1643, for instance, ten people possessed an estate worth £1,000 or more. Eaton with £3,000 and 963 acres headed the list. Another twenty-seven men held substantial estates worth £400-£900. It is entirely possible that the New Haven group ranked first in wealth among all English groups settling in America before 1700.

The Five Children of New Haven

New Haven soon boasted a promising brood of children—five in all: Milford, Guilford, Branford, Stamford and Southold on Long Island. The first offspring was Milford—brainchild of Peter Prudden. While he and his followers worked harmoniously with others in New Haven, they never forgot their ardent aspirations to have a colony of their own. In the summer of 1638 Prudden preached in Wethersfield where he won many followers. In combination with his New Haven supporters he at last had enough manpower to plan a new settlement. In February 1638/39 representatives of the joint group concluded the purchase of land ten miles west of New Haven from Ansantawae, a sachem of the Paugusset Indians. Acquisition of this particular area, Wepowaug, stemmed from a recommendation by Sergeant Thomas Tibbals who had observed its attractiveness during the Pequot campaign.

In the fall of 1639 the Prudden group settled in Wepowaug,

soon renamed Milford. The town imitated New Haven in most respects even to choosing seven pillars. Prudden was the leading religious and intellectual figure in Milford's development until his death in 1656. Cotton Mather observed that Prudden "was noted for a singular faculty to sweeten, compose and qualify *exasperated spirits*, and stop or heal all contentions." While predominantly a farming community, Milford soon developed a prosperous coastal trade.

In time sentiment developed for a formal association with New Haven. Milford applied for membership in New Haven Colony but was rejected because it had enfranchised six nonchurch members. After much consultation the New Haven fathers agreed in 1643 to admit Milford if in the future it would admit only church members as freemen.

Guilford, the next addition to New Haven, also was very much the product of one man's inspiring leadership—that of Henry Whitfield. Son of a lawyer and educated at Oxford University, he obtained a church at Ockley, Surrey. Influenced by Cotton, Davenport and Hooker he became a strong Puritan. Gathering a group of fellow-Puritans from his native Surrey and adjoining Kent, in May 1639 he brought them on the first ship sailing directly from England to New Haven.

Soon after arrival the Whitfield group consummated a land purchase at Menunkatuck because its fertile soil and topography strongly resembled their native counties. As might be expected, Guilford became almost entirely a farming community.

As Whitfield and his wife had a large family on their arrival, they pushed the construction of a handsome house, which looked exactly like the home of an English country gentleman. This stone edifice, largely restored, and known as the "Old Stone House," still stands in Guilford and is claimed to be the oldest stone house in the United States.

Guilford's theocracy was the strictest of all the towns, requiring that only members of their own church could vote and a committee carefully screen membership applications. In 1643 the settlers chose Guilford as a permanent name, apparently to honor Guildford, Surrey. Whitfield himself seems to have been affluent, but most of his followers were of relatively humble circumstances.

In relatively quick order Branford, Stamford and Southold were founded. In 1644 a group of planters from Wethersfield, headed by William Swaine, accepted an invitation from New Haven to settle east of New Haven at Totoket. As pastor the settlers called the Reverend Abraham Pierson from Southampton, Long Island. The new town also modeled itself after New Haven and worked closely with it. In 1653 Totoket was renamed Branford, apparently after Brentford, Middlesex, near London.

In 1640 Captain Nathaniel Turner on behalf of New Haven purchased from Indians a tract about thirty-five miles westward called Rippowams, later named Stamford. To find settlers New Haven as usual turned to Wethersfield, again seething with internal strife. A faction headed by the Reverend Richard Denton accepted Davenport's invitation. They first agreed to acknowledge New Haven's rule, emulate its theocratic system and repay money expended for land. Then in the spring of 1641 Denton and about thirty families moved to their new homes.

The final New Haven outpost was established at Southold, Long Island—almost straight across the Sound. In 1640 New Haven bought the land from an agent of the Earl of Stirling who had been granted Long Island by the Council for New England. The first settlers in the area came from Salem, Massachusetts, under the leadership of the Reverend John Youngs.

Actually, in practice, the six New Haven-associated towns functioned independently until 1643. The founding of the New England Confederation that year forced New Haven and its five offshoots to consolidate as a single colony to procure its protection. In 1643 the six towns formally joined together as the New Haven Colony.

On October 17, 1643, the General Court adopted a fundamental order as a frame of government. Only members of approved churches were allowed to participate in the new government. Each October a General Court containing two deputies from each town was to choose a governor, deputy governor, secretary, treasurer and marshal. All applauded the choice of Eaton as the first governor. Although individual town courts continued to function, a new court of magistrates was established for major legal cases. None of the courts permitted trial by jury—in contrast to other New England colonies.

Need for Intercolonial Organization

As time passed the New England colonies developed serious problems, accentuating the need for intercolonial cooperation. Some of the disputes between the English colonies had engendered bitter feelings and in the distance lurked the ominous shadows of the French and Dutch. Both the Dutch and English claimed large areas located between their settlements and the Dutch fort at Hartford irritated the English. As already noted, Windsor was born amidst conflicting claims of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Massachusetts and Plymouth also disputed the line of their common boundary.

The initiative toward intercolonial organization came from Massachusetts which in 1638 proposed that each colony send two or more commissioners to a meeting authorized to draw up a plan of union. That summer the River Colony sent a delegation with proposed revisions. After a warm discussion, counterproposals were returned to Hartford. A sharp correspondence between Winthrop and Hooker ensued, producing a temporary impasse. Eventually the Indian menace, boundary disputes and the increasing French and Dutch threats, among other things, pushed the New England colonies toward common action.

After serious discussions at Boston in 1643 the delegates from Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, the River Colony and New Haven adopted articles creating the New England Confederation. They provided for a defensive and offensive alliance aimed at preserving the safety and liberty of the four member colonies. The Confederation deliberately excluded Rhode Island, Maine and New Hampshire —areas of unorthodox Puritan views and potential targets for future acquisition by Massachusetts.

The Confederation left each member fully independent and in control of its territory. With two commissioners per colony it required six votes to pass a resolution. In theory, therefore, the three smaller colonies could outvote the Bay Colony. Each colony would contribute funds for common defense proportionate to the adult male population and send two commissioners to an annual meeting. The Confederation lacked the power to compel any colony or individual to abide by any resolution.

The Confederation started very inauspiciously. In 1643 a quarrel broke out between Uncas, Mohegan chief, and Sequassen, Saukiog chief. Governor Haynes and the Court tried in vain to mediate the dispute. Uncas and his warriors launched a sudden attack on Sequassen, killed some of his men and seized many spoils. This led Miantonomo, ally of Sequassen, to seek permission from the English for a retaliatory attack. Receiving sanction he attacked the Mohegans with about 1,000 warriors. Outnumbered over two to one, Uncas and his warriors won handily and captured Miantonomo. He was brought to Hartford and left in white custody while his fate was debated by the Confederation commissioners at Boston. They decided equivocally that it was neither prudent to release him nor proper to execute him. At this point the matter was referred to "five of the most judicious elders" of the Bay Colony who recommended death. The reasons cited by Winthrop for the sentence appear most inconsequential when compared with Miantonomo's valuable services to the English, especially during the Pequot War. So without anything resembling a legal trial he was unceremoniously handed over to Uncas who had him executed. The Confederation certainly had taken a cowardly and dishonorable course.

For over twenty years the Confederation devoted much attention to relations with the Dutch. Since the English colonies were growing far more rapidly than New Netherlands, time worked in their favor. The River Colony charged misconduct by the Dutch garrison at Good Hope. In reply Governor Kieft observed that "when we heare the inhabitants of Hartford complayninge of vs, we seeme to heare Esops wolfe complayninge of the lamb." The English and Dutch signed an agreement at Hartford in September 1650, but it proved no more than a truce.

In 1653 war almost broke out between the Confederation and the Dutch. Strong rumors arose that the Dutch and Indians intended to massacre all of the Connecticut colonists. Three meetings of the Confederation commissioners in April, May and September 1653 each produced a six-to-two vote in favor of war against the Dutch. Only Massachusetts opposed, but so adamantly that the other colonies hesitated to proceed. Both New Haven and the River Colony put heavy pressure on Massachusetts to comply with the majority viewpoint, but in vain. The ending of the first Anglo-

Dutch war in 1654 greatly eased fear of a Dutch attack against Connecticut. The River Colony in 1654 simply voted to dissolve the Dutch post and that conclusively terminated Dutch colonizing in Connecticut.

Hooker and His Legacy

Meanwhile Connecticut suffered a great loss. Early in the summer of 1647 an epidemic swept through sections of New England and claimed Thomas Hooker. The unquestioned leader of the River Colony, he influenced its early development enormously. His previous career in England, Holland and Massachusetts served primarily to prepare him for his final eleven years at Hartford–1636 to 1647–where he developed the Puritan state of which he had dreamed in old England.

Throughout his final decade Hooker retained close ties with Boston. In 1637 he returned in connection with Anne Hutchinson's trial. In 1639, in company with Haynes, he spent a month there, mostly on Confederation possibilities. In September 1643 he participated in the famous Cambridge Synod and returned in 1645 for a church council. The group approved Hooker's influential book, *A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline,* and sent it to England for printing. Unfortunately the manuscript was lost when the ship from New Haven sank. Hooker returned unhappily to his task, but death intervened before its conclusion. Friends forwarded it to London where it was printed in 1648. The *Survey* constituted what has been acclaimed "the supreme exposition of the Congregational church polity."

Actually Hooker published little else that attracted wide attention. His typical book consisted of a sermon, or sermons, apparently prepared for oral delivery and not revised for publication. In fact several were published posthumously. Hooker admitted, too, that he was not a polished writer:

> As it is beyond my skill, so I professe it is beyond my care to please the nicenesse of mens palates, with any quaintnesse of language. They who covet more sauce than meat, they must provide cooks to their minde.

In his sermons one reads not erudite theology but practical straightforward solutions to typical daily problems.

As pastor of Hartford's church Hooker enjoyed great success. In part, at least, this may be attributed to his unusual skill in dealing with people. When his congregation became embroiled in a dispute, he had the matter tabled. Prior to the next meeting he "would ordinarily by private conferences, gain over such as were unsatisfied." Before a major issue was presented to the congregation he often consulted the leading elders and won their support. In applications for membership he required that the elders conduct the necessary examination. Thus by painstaking groundwork and close attention to the wishes of the members he obtained an atmosphere of genuine brotherly love in his church. During his entire Hartford pastorate only one member was censured and one excommunicated.

Grouped with Cotton and Davenport in the triumvirate of leading Puritan theocrats in New England, Hooker clearly ranks as the most liberal of the three. He advocated a larger role for the individual church member as well as the congregation. He emphasized man as a rational creature and minimized him as a miserable sinner. Always an ardent Puritan and firm believer in strong pastoral leadership, he gave the River Colony a more democratic church than Massachusetts knew. He meant his 1638 statement that the covenant was built on "the free consent of the people." Men were free to join in a fellowship of faith and free to leave. Yet the church members "must give way while he [the minister] delivers the mind of Christ out of the Gospel, and acts all the affairs of his Kingdome, according to his rule; and as it suits with his mind."

In the modern usage of the word "democrat" Hooker fails to qualify. By declaring that authority originated from *below* rather than *above* he anticipated the theory of popular sovereignty. Unlike Cotton and Winthrop he believed that eventually all men could attain full religious and civil rights. When one compares him with such New England radicals as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, he appears very conservative. Yet for his Puritan age he must be placed well over on the "liberal" side. When one considers the broad range of his contributions as minister, preacher, theologian, author, colonizer, mediator and shaper of the Fundamental Orders, he richly deserves a place among the greatest leaders of seventeenth-century America.

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IV A New Charter and Resulting Boundary Disputes

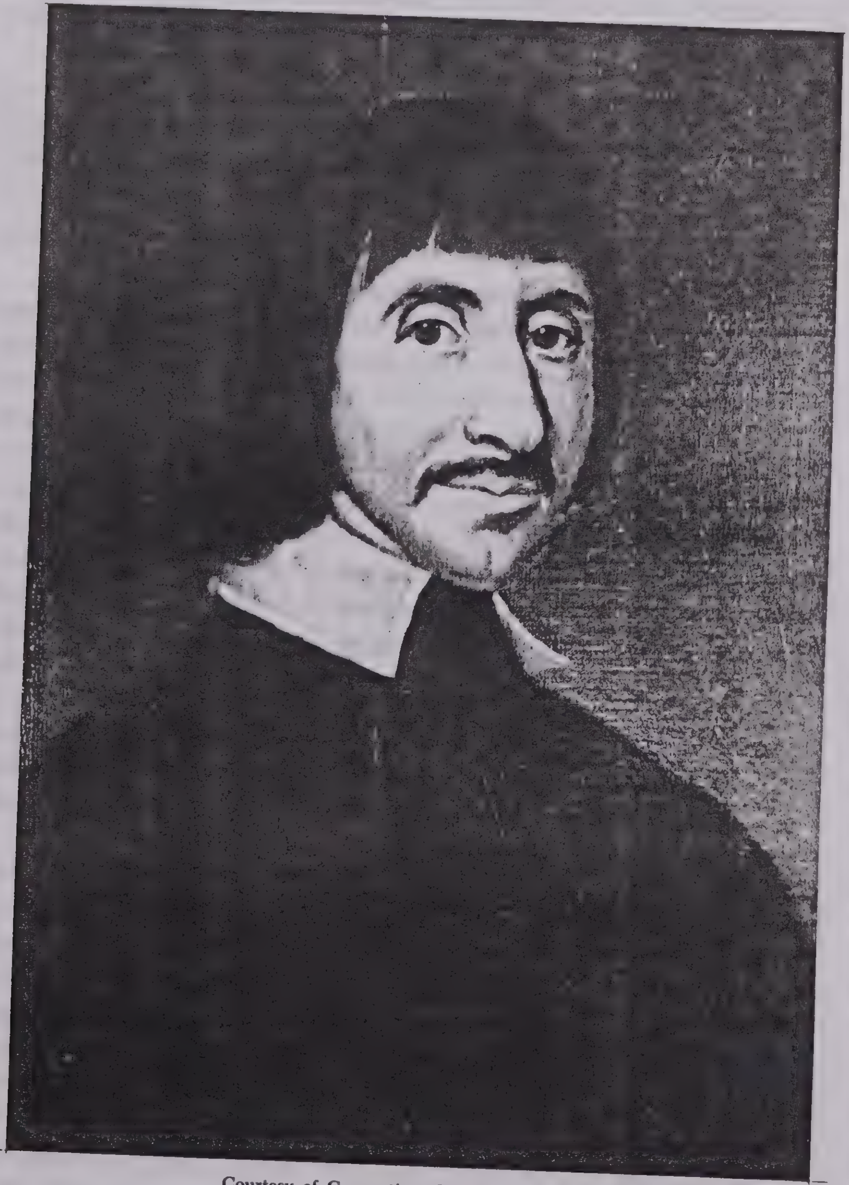
John Winthrop, Jr., Emerges as a Dynamic Leader

John Winthrop, Jr., (1606-76) was one of the towering figures of seventeenth-century America. A man of amazingly diversified interests, he left England for Massachusetts, and later Massachusetts for Connecticut. So influential was his career that it is worth recounting its highlights before considering his mission to secure Connecticut's charter.

Born in Groton, Suffolk, England, in 1606 of a solid country gentry family, he grew up amidst the beautiful gently rolling countryside of Suffolk. His father, later the famous governor of Massachusetts Bay, became a stanch Puritan about 1606. While considered a Puritan, too, the son never became a really devout one. The recipient of an excellent training at the King Edward VI School in Bury St. Edmunds, Winthrop attended Trinity College, Dublin—an institution of liberal outlook. Unfortunately he found Trinity uncongenial and dropped out. Later he studied law at the Inner Temple in London, but again failed to graduate. Still very immature, he suddenly grew up under the impact of two experiences at sea—one, participation in the unsuccessful siege of La Rochelle, France; and two, a voyage to Constantinople and Venice.

Through his father's influence, young Winthrop became involved in the Massachusetts Bay Company's affairs and in 1631 decided to follow his father to Boston where he was soon made an assistant. In 1633, however, he left and founded Ipswich where he lived only briefly. Returning to England, he became involved in the colonizing schemes of the Earl of Warwick and his friends. As already noted, in 1635 Winthrop accepted their commission as governor of Saybrook Colony which in 1636 he irresponsibly deserted. Until this time his career seemed only a series of enthusiastic beginnings to ambitious projects—each suddenly abandoned.

In 1641 Winthrop returned to England, then traveled on the Continent where he met a number of leading intellectuals. Back in England he raised capital and secured men and equipment for an ironmaking enterprise in Massachusetts. After setting up the works at Braintree, he characteristically departed.



Courtesy of Connecticut State Library. Photo by Clarence Casabella

John Winthrop, Jr. (1606-76).

His next venture in 1646 was the establishment of a colony called Pequot near the mouth of the Thames River in Connecticut. When Connecticut claims to the colony prevailed over those of Massachusetts, Winthrop's future became entwined with Connecticut. Pequot did its best to keep the magnetic Winthrop as a permanent resident by granting him all that his heart could desire—a great sandy beach to use in glassmaking, a ferry monopoly, all the islands of rocks within the harbors, a mill privilege, quarrying rights and tax-free land. In truth, Winthrop came close to being the lord of Pequot (later renamed New London). Like most new colonies New London experienced such difficulties that prosperity eluded it. In 1651 Connecticut voters elected him an assistant. Finally, and almost accidentally, he began developing genuine roots in Connecticut.

As always, other communities implored the talented and personable Winthrop to settle among them. Roger Williams invited him to Providence, but New Haven's lure proved more compelling as it offered a fine free residence, and even a good maidservant. New Haven wanted Winthrop for his sense of enterprise, entrepreneurial skills (ironmaking), personality, prestige and medical skills. Perhaps moved most by the presence of bogs and other potential for ironmaking, Winthrop left a shocked New London in 1656 and moved to New Haven. Just as he was settling down there, the River Colony chose him governor in 1657. This stroke of political genius snatched Winthrop from rival New Haven and gave Connecticut an able leader. Winthrop occupied an official residence in Hartford part of each year but remained a legal resident of New London.

Such was Winthrop's great popularity in the River Colony that the provision of the Fundamental Orders prohibiting the governor from being elected two years in a row was repealed in 1660. Winthrop then received the honor of re-election annually until his death in 1676.

He performed gubernatorial duties with general satisfaction and found time also to continue his varied personal interests, including a large medical practice. Robert C. Black, author of a fascinating biography of Winthrop, reports that in the years from 1657-69 Winthrop treated at least 700 different individuals! He

kept abreast of the activities of Europe's intellectuals through correspondence with several Europeans, including Samuel Hartlib of London, a patron of scholars.

England's Puritan rule ended abruptly in 1660 with the Stuart restoration of Charles II to the throne. Many confirmed enemies of Puritan New England moved into positions of power in London. Connecticut having no official charter lacked legitimacy in official eyes.

Winthrop's Charter Mission

After three decades of happy experience under the Fundamental Orders, in 1660 Connecticut suddenly realized that the fall of Cromwell's Puritan government also had destroyed Connecticut's security. In English eyes the colony possessed no legal basis. Connecticut's leaders, and especially Winthrop, realized that they must take positive action. On March 14, 1660/61, the legislature voted to prepare an address to the King and petition him for a confirmation of the privileges requisite for "the comfortable and peaceable settlement" of Connecticut. In other words, they desired a charter. The legislature appointed Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor John Mason and seven others to prepare the petition and letters to certain "noble p[e]rsonages" who might prove helpful.

For the delicate mission to London the legislators selected the most personable and popular man in Connecticut—Governor Winthrop. He was given complete flexibility in how he proceeded to achieve his goal.

The first obstacle to success was the New Haven Colony's desire to preserve its separate existence. Aware of the threatening mien of Charles II's government, Davenport and many other New Haveners wanted security for their colony, but not at the cost of absorption into Connecticut. Governor Leete, however, leaned toward some sort of federal union with Connecticut. He visited Hartford to confer with Winthrop, but no firm agreement was reached. When Davenport wrote on June 16, 1661, asking Winthrop to delay his trip at least one year, Winthrop carefully refrained from answering until he had departed! Winthrop also deliberately avoided consultations with the other New England colonies who were worried about their relationship to the new English government.

By July 5, 1661, Winthrop had quietly left Hartford, bypassed New Haven and sailed to New Amsterdam. Poor Governor Leete must have raged as he looked at his petition specifically prepared for Winthrop to carry to the King!

After a tedious journey on a Dutch boat to Holland, Winthrop at last reached London on September 18. He found quarters at the home of William Whiting on Coleman Street, next door to Davenport's old church. Winthrop and Connecticut possessed some powerful friends including Lord Say and Sele (unfortunately away and very feeble); Lord Brooke, also a Warwick patentee; and the Earl of Manchester, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household. As it developed, Winthrop's close friend, Samuel Hartlib, proved more valuable than any of these. He informed Winthrop that he could achieve nothing at Court without a powerful go-between. Hartlib suggested cultivating Benjamin Worsley who had the confidence of the Lord Chancellor on most colonial affairs. Winthrop almost immediately began this ingratiating process with Worsley. As with all official matters, however, many weeks were required for the tedious charter-acquiring process.

Letters arrived from Leete and Plymouth Colony asking his assistance in obtaining royal assent to their petitions. Technically Winthrop honored their requests by filing these petitions as requested, but there is no evidence that he really worked for either colony.

As a sophisticated and worldly Puritan, Winthrop enthusiastically savored the delights of London. Through introductions from Hartlib he met many of the leading savants of England. He found particularly congenial William Brereton who had affiliated with a notable group of intellectuals calling themselves "The Royal Society." Winthrop was delighted with this eminent group who fully reciprocated. On January 1, 1661/62, they voted to make him a member—the first North American admitted. That year he delivered papers on three New England topics: making tar and pitch, shipbuilding and Indian corn and its uses. Reflective of another longtime interest, Winthrop, through the assistance of Worsley, procured a good astronomical telescope much superior to the one he had previously used.

Meanwhile negotiations slowly moved forward through tortuous

official channels. Winthrop never found the original Warwick Patent—a document he had hoped would establish Connecticut's land claims. Then he discovered that Connecticut's petition failed to meet court standards. So he rewrote it twice. Probably on February 12, 1661/62, he personally presented Connecticut's revised petition to the King in council. Couching his case in felicitous phraseology, he made such a fine impression that the whole process was greatly expedited. The final engrossment and passage of the great seal occurred on May 10, 1662. Winthrop had won the greatest victory of his career!

There was little opportunity to enjoy his triumph as a serious dispute developed immediately with Dr. John Clarke who was seeking a charter for Rhode Island. He asked for a review of the Connecticut charter because it seemed to trespass on Rhode Island's claims. This caused a long delay in Winthrop's departure though fortunately he sent off a copy of the charter to Connecticut. After months of delay English arbitrators placed the Connecticut-Rhode Island boundary at the Pawcatuck River and temporarily settled other issues. At long last Winthrop took his final leave of London and reached Connecticut in June 1663.

An Amazing Charter

Connecticut's charter of 1662 was so generous as to be almost unbelievable. The King not only gave Connecticut a clear legal title, but also a surprising amount of self-government. The charter constituted John Winthrop, Jr., and others a body corporate entitled the "Governour and Company of the English Colony of Conecticut in New England in America." The company members were freemen with full powers of a corporation. The charter called for a governor, deputy governor and twelve assistants to be elected annually in May by the freemen. Twice yearly this upper house met with a lower house of two members per town to conduct the colony's business as the General Assembly. The freemen holding all the "liberties and Immunities" of natural-born Englishmen must take the oath of supremacy. The legislature or the governor or deputy governor and six assistants would exercise full judicial powers. The legislature could enact laws as long as none contravened those of England.

The freemen received the freest type of land tenure in England—that of the Manor of East Greenwich. In recompense, the Crown was granted one-fifth of all gold and silver mined in Connecticut. As it turned out, there was none!

The charter fixed remarkable boundaries: Narragansett Bay on the east; Massachusetts on the north; Long Island Sound and the Atlantic Ocean on the south; and the "South Sea," meaning the Pacific Ocean, on the west! This generous grant precipitated lengthy and stubborn boundary disputes with Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. Even so, this charter which would serve Connecticut, with modifications, for 156 years, marks Winthrop's greatest single achievement. Only a person possessing consummate skill in politics could have engineered so striking a triumph!

New Haven Fights Connecticut

Well before Winthrop returned to Connecticut, the authorities at Hartford informed New Haven leaders that the new charter meant annexation of New Haven Colony. On March 20, 1662/63, a Connecticut committee presented to New Haven magistrates a detailed and reasonable proposal for union—which New Haven rejected. Public opinion in New Haven was divided with the Davenport-Nicholas Street faction intransigent in its opposition, and the Leete faction willing to accept a face-saving solution involving union. Even so, Leete warned Hartford of likely "violent fomentations" in New Haven. On his return Winthrop played for time and hoped that tensions would subside. In view of New Haven's declining economic and political condition, Winthrop's delaying tactics made sense.

Meanwhile, Connecticut faced possible serious objection from the New England Confederation whose articles guaranteed the integrity of each member. New Haven filed complaints against Connecticut and they were aired. Winthrop replied in masterful fashion and largely defused the opposition. Definite action was postponed with a statement expressing hope for an amicable settlement.

Connecticut's assembly appointed a committee to negotiate. It offered New Haven generous terms: a proportionate number of assistants, full status for New Haven freemen as Connecticut free-

men, no interference with their churches and two deputies for each New Haven Colony town. New Haven rejected these. The conservative faction construed union as the victory of the less orthodox political and religious establishment in Connecticut—a prospect so terrifying as to lead some to consider migration to New Netherlands!

As Winthrop so astutely reasoned, time was playing into Connecticut's hands. Within a short period Southold, Stamford and Greenwich deserted New Haven for Connecticut, while Guilford threatened to leave. Only Branford and Milford remained loyal through 1662 and 1663. Early in 1664 New Haven's Court authorized Davenport and Street to write a paper stating the colony's arguments. Their effort resulted in "Newhavens Case Stated," a vigorous assault on Connecticut's encroachments. Connecticut responded that it possessed a new charter calling for union and had made a generous offer.

The possibility of English interference worried both sides. A special royal commission appointed in April 1664 to study conditions in New England posed a threat to all colonies there. Massachusetts advised Connecticut to effect an agreement with New Haven before all New England charters were rescinded. Connecticut promptly forwarded this practical advice to New Haven and recommended acceptance of union.

In New Haven, meanwhile, the situation was steadily deteriorating. The treasury was nearly exhausted and the colony was disintegrating. That same year a dramatic event occurred in New Amsterdam when Director General Peter Stuyvesant surrendered his colony to an English force. Anticipating this conquest, Charles II in March 1664 had already granted this colony, with boundaries extending eastward to the Connecticut River, to the Duke of York. Faced with a choice between rule by Winthrop or James Stuart (Duke of York), even the most recalcitrant New Haveners preferred Winthrop!

The unpleasant dispute then moved swiftly to its climax, but with concern shown for New Haven's feelings. In September a Confederation meeting at Hartford urged final settlement and consented to the union. In October the Connecticut assembly voted to send a delegation to New Haven requiring submission of all New Haven Colony inhabitants and making their freemen also freemen of Connecticut. In addition, the assembly appointed seven New Haven leaders as magistrates to act in a liaison capacity for New Haven. In November Milford recognized the inevitable by voting to join Connecticut. Late that month after discussions with Winthrop and others royal commissioners decided that Long Island belonged to New York and Connecticut's western and southern boundary lay at Mamaroneck River and Long Island Sound respectively. This confirmed Connecticut's claim to the New Haven Colony. In December, therefore, New Haven's General Court reluctantly voted submission to Connecticut with the formal act passing on January 5, 1664/65. Two days later New Haven's cause finally died when the town of New Haven capitulated! Characteristically Winthrop took the occasion to write words of praise to Leete and comfort to Davenport.

For some New Haven die-hards emigration seemed preferable to rule by Connecticut. A group from Branford, Guilford, Milford and New Haven under Abraham Pierson in 1666 migrated to New Jersey and founded Milford, later called Newark.

John Davenport also remained bitterly unconsolable, and considered an invitation from Boston's First Church in 1667. Unhappily a strong minority there opposed him as too old and conservative. New Haven, still deeply devoted to its pastor, tried vainly to keep him. Yet, in November 1668, under ambiguous conditions Davenport finally accepted the Boston call. His ministry there produced secession by his opponents and much general turmoil. After a brief unhappy pastorate Davenport died in March 1669/70—an unhappy end for a man who had made such great contributions to New Haven.

Occasionally one finds a nostalgic statement that New Haven Colony might have retained its separateness and eventually become a state of the new United States. Perhaps there is some romantic appeal to this idea, but little else. For various reasons—no great river or large prosperous hinterland, inept commercial leadership and plain bad luck—the colony never prospered. Settling the boundaries of Connecticut and New York destroyed all hopes of future territorial expansion. Internally, too, discontent grew over the ultraconservative policies concerning church membership and

political rights. Governor Leete served as spokesman for the more liberal group willing to reach an accommodation with Connecticut. In the final analysis the lack of a charter rendered New Haven helpless before her larger neighbor, Connecticut, recently legitimized by the charter of 1662.

For the long-range success of the expanded Connecticut, capitulation by New Haven was an absolutely necessary, if painful, step forward. Only by the union of the two colonies could there be created a colony large enough to play an influential role in intercolonial and national affairs. It is regrettable that some Connecticut partisans pushed the merger so aggressively. The actual union, however, became effective surprisingly smoothly with New Haven contributing an able corps of leaders to the enlarged Connecticut. In 1669 William Leete, the last governor of New Haven, was elected deputy governor and in 1676 on Winthrop's death succeeded him as governor—a position he held until his passing in 1683. Furthermore, in May 1701 the assembly voted that henceforth the regular session in October should be held in New Haven, making it thereby a joint capital with Hartford.

Connecticut's Battle to Defend and Expand Its Boundaries

The charter of 1662 contained ambiguities which produced a series of sharp disagreements with Connecticut's neighbors. In fact, boundary disputes even antedated the charter.

The earliest conflict to develop—that with Massachusetts—centered on the location of Connecticut's northern boundary. The Massachusetts charter provided that its southern boundary should run due west from a line three miles south of the southernmost part of the Charles River. In 1642 Massachusetts engaged Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffery to survey this line. After commencing the survey apparently at the correct location they decided that it was too much trouble to extend it on foot, so they sailed around Cape Cod and up the Connecticut River to a point which they *thought* to be on the same latitude as their beginning point! In reality this new point lay eight miles farther south. As a result, the Woodward-Saffery line, as it stretched eastward, neatly cut an illegal piece out of Connecticut—eight miles broad at the widest, and four miles at the narrowest.

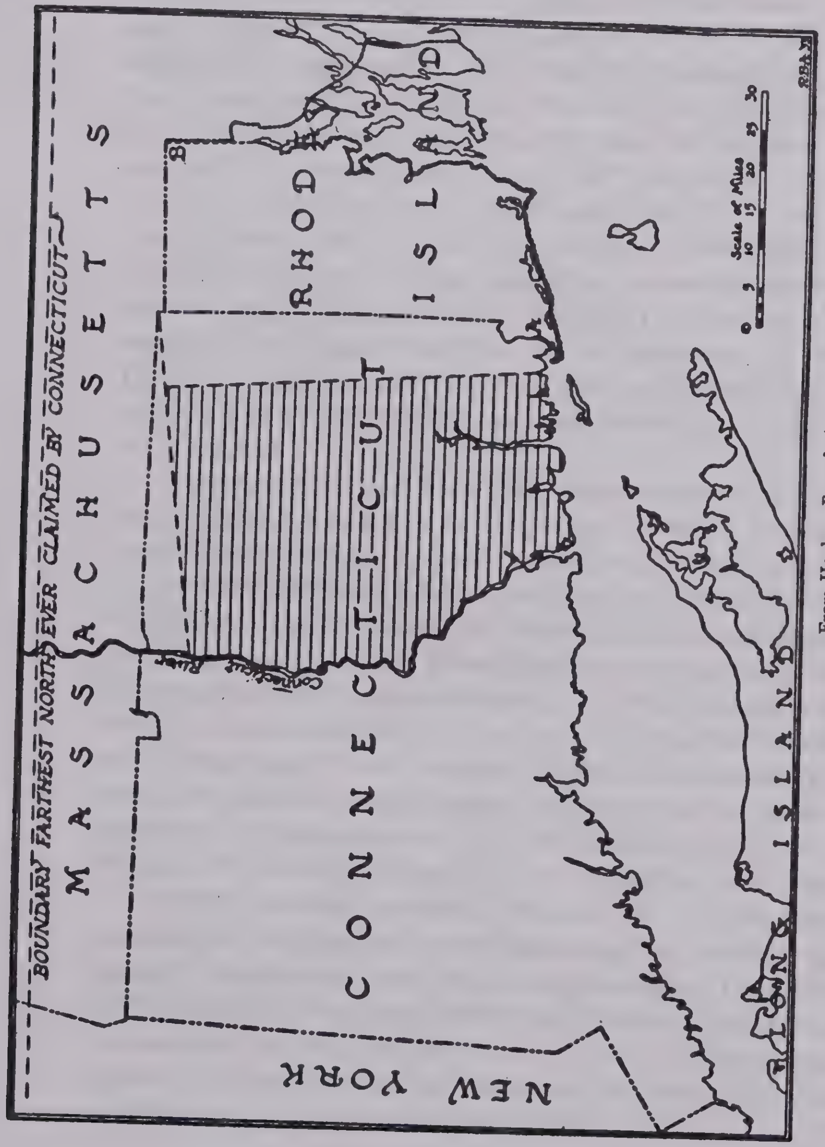
Irritated by this serious discrepancy, Connecticut eventually ordered its own survey which John Butcher and William Whiting finished in 1695. Connecticut settlers meanwhile had established homes in Enfield and Suffield—an area claimed by both colonies. In 1702 the two colonies arranged a new joint survey which returned most of the disputed land to Connecticut. Then Massachusetts reneged on the agreement and in 1708 each colony dispatched a vigorous petition to London.

At that time, however, much feeling existed in English official circles favoring revocation of all private colonial charters. The New Englanders realized that it might be diplomatic to adjust their boundary conflict before London imposed some drastic solution. In 1713, therefore, they reached an agreement which left Massachusetts in control of Enfield, Suffield and Woodstock while yielding land elsewhere to Connecticut. In 1716 Connecticut sold this noncontiguous land for £683 and allocated the money to hard-pressed Yale College.

The new line, however, cavalierly ignored the real wishes of Enfield, Suffield and Woodstock. Moved particularly by Massachusetts' higher taxes, in 1724 they openly petitioned Connecticut to admit them. Rebuffed in this, they renewed the attempt in 1747. Moving gingerly in this complicated matter, Connecticut finally in 1749 voted to take Enfield, Somers, Suffield and Woodstock; appointed commissioners to negotiate with Massachusetts; and threatened an appeal to Britain. To heighten the crisis Woodstock even elected deputies to the Connecticut legislature! Britain ignored the matter and Connecticut continued to govern the four towns. By 1800 Massachusetts had ceased to challenge the *de facto* situation.

After 1800 the two states settled three minor boundary disputes. The claims of Southwick, Massachusetts, to parts of Granby and Suffield were adjusted by giving a small segment of Granby to Massachusetts. This created the only jog in the otherwise straight northern boundary from the Connecticut River westward. Minor adjustments farther east were made, also, and in May 1827 when Connecticut accepted these changes peace reigned on the Massachusetts-Connecticut boundary after 185 years of contention.

The battle between Connecticut and Rhode Island, while shorter in duration, proved more important. In fact, much of Rhode Is-



From Hooker, *Boundaries of Connecticut.* Photo by Clarence Casabella

What Connecticut might have been (shaded area) if all rival claims had prevailed.

land was at stake since the Connecticut charter set the eastern boundary at Narragansett Bay! As has already been seen, while Winthrop was still in London, Dr. John Clarke was seeking a charter for Rhode Island. The two men conferred and effected a tentative agreement on the Rhode Island-Connecticut line. This established the boundary at the Pawcatuck River with Winthrop renouncing all land east of it.

Unfortunately the Connecticut legislature repudiated this agreement. Royal commissioners attempted to negotiate in 1665, but to no avail. A stormy Connecticut-Rhode Island conference at New London in 1670 achieved nothing. Various unpleasant incidents in the disputed area culminated in 1680 with the arrest by Rhode Island of Stephen Richardson, a Connecticut constable exercising his authority at Westerly. Angered by Rhode Island's refusal to free him, Connecticut seized Joseph Clarke of Westerly, a Rhode Island partisan. In 1683 royal commissioners appointed by Charles II granted all the disputed Narragansett area to Connecticut, but due to lack of action by the Privy Council, the decision was never put into effect.

Later efforts by Edmund Andros and by New York's governor, the Earl of Bellomont, to mediate failed. When a Rhode Island sheriff and four assistants tried to seize Stonington property for nonpayment of taxes, they were arrested and fined by a Connecticut court.

Fearful of English revocation of their charters the contestants in 1703 agreed on a boundary along the Pawcatuck River and northward. When the survey was done in 1714, however, the agreement evaporated. In 1720 a disgusted Board of Trade, irritated by sixty years of wrangling in the case, recommended that both colonies lose their charters and be annexed to New Hampshire. This shock therapy worked wonders! The two colonies immediately promised to accept in advance any final ruling of the Privy Council whereupon the New Hampshire recommendation was rescinded. The Board of Trade then proposed a new line close to that set by the 1703 accord. A survey in 1728 made this official. The two colonies exchanged more unpleasantries but finally in 1742 accepted the boundary.

For Connecticut the boundary quarrel with New York posed

a far greater threat. This dispute grew out of Charles II's grant to his brother, James, Duke of York, of all the land from the Connecticut River to Delaware Bay. If implemented, this would have reduced Connecticut to a narrow corridor east of the Connecticut River. By an agreement in 1664 Connecticut achieved a generous line running across the Hudson at Peekskill and ending twenty-five miles west of the river. Unfortunately, the 1664 agreement never received royal confirmation. In May 1675 Andros, as governor of New York, called for Connecticut's surrender of all land west of the Connecticut River. Connecticut angrily rejected this demand. In July 1675 Andros suddenly arrived at Saybrook, presumably to press his claims. Captain Thomas Bull and two Connecticut militia companies discouraged him from further aggression. In 1683 after Thomas Dongan became New York governor, the two colonies accepted a line which generally ran twenty miles east of and parallel to the Hudson.

This agreement sacrificed Rye whose inhabitants since 1665 had considered themselves in Connecticut. Strongly preferring the greater local autonomy and lower taxes of Connecticut, Rye openly revolted in 1697 and joined Connecticut, as did nearby Bedford. In 1700 the King confirmed the 1683 agreement which placed Rye and Bedford in New York, where they stayed. Many years of verbal bickering between the states followed, and New Yorkers were confirmed in their suspicions of Connecticut as a land of "sharp traders." Connecticut, in turn, charged New York with having an autocratic government. Despite mutual suspicions the two governments negotiated an agreement in 1725. The resulting joint survey, finished in 1731, amazingly enough was accepted by both sides.

In 1855 the states agreed to resurvey the 1731 line since the markers had vanished and inhabitants along the boundary paid no taxes to either state. After much more wrangling Connecticut in 1880 accepted the resurveyed 1731 line in return for extension of its southern boundary into the Sound. In 1881 both states and Congress ratified the agreement and after over 200 years *all* of Connecticut's boundaries were finally fixed officially!

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V Relations with Indians and Andros

Uncertain and Troubled Indian Relations

With the signing in September 1638 of the agreement concerning the Pequots, they had ceased to exist as an independent tribe. Even so Indian-white relations in all of New England remained unstable for several decades. As already seen, strong fear of Indian uprisings insured organization of the New England Confederation in 1643. Soon hostility between the Mohegans and the Narragansets threatened to precipitate a general war. In 1645 the Confederation's commissioners decided that the Narragansets were the aggressors and they would reinforce Uncas. Connecticut's quota was forty men; New Haven's, thirty. Fortunately, before serious fighting developed the Narragansets and their allies, the Niantics, backed down, agreed to pay an indemnity, return Mohegan captives and give hostages to the Confederation. In the late 1640's and early 1650's Ninigret, Niantic leader, appeared before the Confederation to defend his tribe against assorted charges, including trying to resurrect the Pequot tribe. In 1654 the Confederation, outraged by Ninigret's constant violations of agreements, raised an army of over 300 men to coerce him into obedience.

Intransigent as Ninigret was, Uncas caused even more trouble. At various times he instigated raids against Narragansets, Niantics, Nipmucks and Pocumtucks. To reduce the dangers from wars the various colonies attempted to cut off supplies of arms and ammunition to natives. At the very first recorded meeting on April 26, 1636, the little court for the three river towns ordered that nobody trade arms or ammunition with Indians—the first of a series of similar enactments. On the theory that alcohol, powder and Indians did not mix well, later courts also prohibited sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians. Illustrative is the act of 1654 which noted much drunkenness prevailing among Indians to the great hazard of both themselves and the English. Hence the court declared the sale, barter or gift to an Indian of any wine, liquors, beer, cider or metheglin unlawful, under penalty of £5 for every pint.

In examining the broad range of relationships with Indians one commonly finds a negative attitude toward them. Yet this stereotype was far from being accurate. For example, Indians willing to abide by colonial laws and government could be accepted as inhabitants. Alden Vaughan's penetrating study of Indians and Puritans concludes that the Puritans are entitled to "a more favorable judgment" than has generally been granted. He believes, for example, that Indians usually received just treatment in Puritan courts. He and other authors have described the rather extensive missionary efforts among them. While one may argue about the effectiveness of the missionaries, the very fact of this activity revealed a genuine concern for their welfare. While the Code of 1650 listed many restrictions against Indians, it also requested Thomas Stanton, who spoke Indian languages, to go among the Indians twice yearly and instruct them in religion.

The Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury, Massachusetts, translated the Bible for the Indians in the early 1650's. Certain that this translation would be incomprehensible to Connecticut Indians, the Reverend Abraham Pierson of Branford, aided by Thomas Stanton, slowly and painfully prepared a bilingual catechism hopefully suited to Connecticut Algonkin tongues. Pierson preached among some Connecticut River tribes and remained active in missionary work until his departure to New Jersey in the mid-1660's.

Very prominent also in missionary work was the Reverend James Fitch of Norwich who commenced preaching to the Mohegans in 1671. He found his greatest obstacle in Uncas whom he described as an old wicked drunkard and "very vitious." Despite this, Fitch claimed thirty converts by 1674. In other areas little progress was made. Overall Connecticut carried on considerably less missionary activity than Massachusetts, but more than Rhode Island.

King Philip's War Breaks Out

At the best the total of Indian converts in New England was much too small to influence the gradual worsening of relations. In Massachusetts, especially, much suspicion existed between Indians and whites—a feeling which increased after the death in 1662 of Massasoit, sachem of Wampanoags and a trusted friend. Plymouth adopted a tough attitude toward Philip, new sachem, and tried to disarm his tribe. The Indians generally had acquired guns and later would use them effectively.

After major scares in 1667, 1669 and 1671, King Philip's War broke out in June 1675 at Swansea, Massachusetts, where several whites were slain. The outbreak apparently stemmed from the conviction and hanging of three Indians for murder of a Christian Indian. It began as a local struggle between the Wampanoags and two colonies—Massachusetts and Plymouth. Attempts to keep the Narragansets neutral failed, and subsequently many Indian tribes joined a loose alliance led by Philip and Canonchet, of the Narragansets.

Connecticut reacted cautiously to the new conflict, and took no offensive measures until July 1, 1675, when alarms from New London and Stonington resulted in an order to dispatch forty men to those towns. In July the assembly created a special council to meet any emergencies arising between regular assembly meetings. Fortunately Connecticut was in little danger since it was located far from the fighting area and protected by the firm alliance with Uncas who could be counted on to oppose his old enemies, the Narragansets.

In August 1675 Brookfield, Massachusetts, was attacked and Springfield felt threatened. With the upper Connecticut River Valley erupting, the Connecticut council considered the war as coming much too close for comfort. They, therefore, made Major Robert Treat commander of Connecticut troops, a position he held for the war's duration. After the Pocumtuck Indians burned Deerfield, Connecticut took precautionary steps, such as night watches in all towns. Frightened by further attacks in the upper valley, the Confederation voted to increase the authorized total to 1,000 men, of which Connecticut's quota was 315. Despite this move the Indians raided Springfield, destroying thirty houses. Rumors of impending attacks on Connecticut multiplied.

Despite the spread of the war the Narragansets had remained neutral. When they refused to give up the Wampanoag refugees, however, the Confederation declared war against them. In December troops from three colonies, including 300 whites and 150 Indians from Connecticut, joined in Rhode Island for a showdown with the Narragansets who had fortified a village on a hillock in a cedar swamp. After a bitter encounter with heavy losses, the wigwams caught fire and a great massacre of Narragansets resulted. The horror of the affair was heightened by the subsequent eighteen-mile march through deep snow to Wickford. Some forty Connecticut men were killed or expired from the battle and exposure on the march, and as many were wounded.

While the Narragansets suffered a great defeat, they and their allies continued the war. Meanwhile plans for a new colonial offensive met resistance in Connecticut because of the recent heavy casualties in Rhode Island. On March 9 Philip, Canonchet and the Pocumtuck and Nipmuck chiefs held a council near Northfield and vowed to win a decisive victory, while their women and children raised crops and fished undisturbed in the deserted Connecticut Valley between Deerfield and Northfield.

At first the Indians enjoyed great success as raiding parties hit such towns as Concord, Lancaster, Springfield, Northampton, Medford, Groton, Weymouth and Marlborough. Even Providence seemed in dire danger though Roger Williams himself was trusted by the Indians. A small band of Indians invaded Connecticut, killed Henry Denslow at Windsor Locks (then Pine Meadow) and looted and burned the empty houses of Simsbury. Further grief afflicted the colony when word arrived of the death at Boston of Governor Winthrop—undoubtedly Connecticut's most cherished leader since Thomas Hooker.

While the winter and early spring of 1676 had brought a great surge of Indian victories, the momentum suddenly ran out. In April some Connecticut volunteers, aided by Indians, captured Canonchet near Pawcatuck River. His execution by other Indians removed one of the most audacious war leaders. A joint Massachusetts-Connecticut expedition in June cleared the valley of Indians in the Hadley area. Another raid through the Narraganset country inflicted sizable casualties. The incessant white attacks gradually destroyed the Indian food supplies and shattered the Indian alliance.

The Indians, no longer able to raise enough food to maintain themselves and fight a war, began to crumble. During July a Plymouth pardon offer resulted in surrender of over 300 Indians. King Philip himself was killed by an Indian ally in a Rhode Island swamp.

In late July Connecticut troops under Major John Talcott pushed their last campaign against a remnant of about 250 Indians

fleeing westward. On August 15, 1676, near Great Barrington, Connecticut troops trapped their prey. In a battle of attempted encirclement the troops killed thirty-five and captured twenty, while the others escaped. This completed Connecticut's active fighting in the war.

It had been an extremely costly war for both sides. Massachusetts had many towns destroyed and 2,000 people left temporarily dependent on public relief. The Indians suffered far greater losses in death and privation. Many were bound over as servants to colonists to aid in rebuilding ruined towns. Plymouth even sold many captives into slavery.

In comparison, Connecticut's Indian policy was more humane. The assembly voted that all hostile Indians surrendering by January 1676/77 should not be sold as slaves, but be held in service for ten years after which they should live peacefully in their respective towns. The Reverend James Fitch, of Norwich, ever a friend to Indians, fought against allowing Uncas to care for Indian prisoners. As a result the governor and council resettled the Indians under white supervision.

While Connecticut's losses were only a fraction of those of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, the war cost heavily in men and money. For substantial periods one-seventh of the militia saw active service. Taxes rose from one penny on the pound in May 1674 to eighteen pence in October 1676. Fortunately, no town except Simsbury was damaged. Moreover the Indians within Connecticut helped the whites so not one Connecticut unit ever was ambushed. For New England as a whole it was fortunate that the last, great, internal Indian challenge was decisively defeated before the outbreak of French-English intercolonial struggles.

Growing Threats to Connecticut's Independence

Much more deeply threatening to Connecticut than the Indians was the danger coming from New York. In 1674 the Duke of York appointed as governor Major Edmund Andros, an English soldier and aristocrat. That same year the Duke of York obtained a new charter from Charles II giving him all land from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River. In 1675 Andros sought to implement this grant by demanding surrender of all land west of the Connecticut River. To reinforce his words on July 8, 1675, Andros suddenly besieged Saybrook with armed sloops. The assembly strongly denounced this invasion, and authorized resistance. Captain Thomas Bull, unintimidated, mustered his men in battle formation. The next morning Andros came ashore to confer with him. Seeing that a bloody battle might erupt, Andros prudently sailed away.

While the New York threat faded away, new dangers were developing in London. Some English leaders felt that it would be economically and politically advantageous to unite all New England colonies under one royal government. Such a government could encourage greater production of keenly desired English products—naval stores, hemp, minerals and raw materials. In turn New England could purchase more English manufactured goods. Furthermore, the increasing French power in America suggested the need of integrating defense efforts in New England. The investigations of Edward Randolph in Massachusetts had revealed flagrant violations of the Navigation Acts and other laws. Under a writ issued in 1685, Connecticut also was charged with passing laws contrary to English ones, enforcing a Connecticut oath of fidelity, denying freedom of worship and ignoring the oath of supremacy and allegiance.

Randolph returned to New England in May 1686 and informed Governor Treat that he held two writs against Connecticut under which the King intended to unite New England under one goverment and expected Connecticut's "humble submission."

Andros Tries to Rule Connecticut

In June 1686 King James II gave Andros a commission as governor of the new Dominion of New England. Despite an official protest from Connecticut, a third writ to Governor Treat delivered on December 28, 1686, informed him that Connecticut's charter must be surrendered. A month later Treat replied so politely that London interpreted it as full submission. In June 1687 instructions were prepared for Andros' assumption of power. As for Connecticut's assembly, it stalled on voting a clear-cut acceptance of Andros' rule.

Finally in October Andros decided to force a showdown. He wrote Treat that he planned to visit Hartford and take over the

government. Leaving Boston on October 26 in royal style with a retinue of seventy-five, he apparently expected no trouble with Connecticut. Governor Treat, affecting a friendly spirit, organized a splendid welcome for Andros. Interestingly, our most complete account of Andros' visit is found in Gershom Bulkeley's *Will and Doom*—a very pro-Andros version.

The next day Andros and his retinue accompanied the Governor and assembly to the meetinghouse where Andros had his commission and the order for surrender of the charter read. Governor Treat then began a very long and emotional speech describing the many trials and dangers involved in Connecticut's development. It grew dark and candles were lighted. Then occurred one of the most famous incidents in Connecticut's history.

> The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Hon. Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person, who had conveyed it away.

This, the earliest printed account of this famous episode, appeared in 1797 in Benjamin Trumbull's first edition of his history. The secreting of the charter in the Charter Oak tree became one of Connecticut's most cherished traditions. Whether the charter ever was actually placed there remains an unsolved mystery. All that appears certain is that it *was* carried away somewhere under cover of darkness.

Despite its peculiar disappearance, both Andros and Connecticut leaders believed that Connecticut had been absorbed into the Dominion of New England. Andros added Governor Treat and Secretary John Allyn to his council, named justices of the peace and sheriffs and confirmed all recently levied taxes.

The Fall of the Dominion of New England

Despite Andros' protestations of deep friendship, he almost immediately imposed an autocratic government. Freedom of the press was restricted and enormous fees were levied for legal actions, including one of fifty shillings for probate of a will. Andros outraged many by his proclamation that all land titles under the 1662 charter were invalid, as well as all Indian deeds. In 1688 New York was added to his realm. In Massachusetts and Plymouth the weight of his oppressions fell even more heavily.

In England, meanwhile, a major crisis had developed between the arbitrary and unpopular King James II and Parliament. An avowed Catholic, James tried to dictate policy to the Church of England. When a son was born to James, it signified a Catholic heir. Leaders of both parties, Tories and Whigs, joined in an appeal to William, ruler of Holland, and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II by his first wife, both Protestants, to mount the English throne. James soon fled to France and the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 moved ahead. William and Mary became rulers—but clearly subordinate to Parliament. Parliament had made a king, and easily could unmake him if he ruled arbitrarily. A bill of rights and other popular safeguards were enacted in confirming the revolutionary settlement.

The exciting news of revolution in England quickly precipitated revolution in New England. Actually, some Connecticut leaders, led by James Fitch of Norwich, apparently had been plotting against Andros for some time. In Boston on April 18, 1689, an armed mob seized Randolph and other Dominion supporters, but Andros escaped to Castle Island. Three weeks later, on May 9, 1689, the Connecticut legislature voted to re-establish their government under the charter of 1662. Governor Treat again assumed his place; and the assistants and deputies, theirs. Connecticut's own "Glorious Revolution" was completed!

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VI Connecticut Fights in Four Intercolonial Wars--1690-1763

The Opening Round—King William's War

Britain's European diplomacy and wars inevitably deeply implicated the American colonies. The American phase of these wars involved the French and British colonies in a series of four wars, fought at intervals over a period of more than seventy years.

Connecticut men serving in these intercolonial wars came from the militia or trainbands. The militia, theoretically, included all men from sixteen to fifty. In 1762 there were about 20,000 militiamen in a white population of 141,000. Those exempted from service included assembly members, justices of the peace, ministers, Yale staff and students, masters of arts, doctors, schoolmasters, attorneys, millers, "constant Herdsmen," regular mariners and ferrymen, sheriffs, constables and lame or otherwise disabled persons.

Each of the thirteen regiments in 1750 had a colonel, lieutenant colonel and major—commissioned by the governor after appointment by the legislature. Lower officers were nominated by the men and normally confirmed automatically. The militiamen provided their own arms and drilled without pay, though fined for nonattendance.

The militia possessed a good reputation partly because, as a special committee reported to the assembly in 1754, their officers "generally are chosen out of the best yeomen of this colony." Connecticut's rejection of the Albany Plan of Union that year stemmed partly from fear of control over the militia by the president-general and council.

Since training was infrequent and often superficial, the militia comprised a force of uncertain quality. On occasion they fought well against the French; at worst they behaved like a rabble. Given Connecticut's traditions and outlook the militia provided a practical answer to current military needs.

The first war, called King William's War by Americans, grew out of serious French-English rivalry in such areas as Acadia, Newfoundland, Maine and the Illinois country. Under the aggressive leadership of Count Frontenac, the French organized attacks on

isolated frontier posts. The most serious foray, that on Schenectady in February 1689/90, left sixty dead and many captured.

Alarmed by these sharp attacks, Connecticut called out militia for an intercolonial land invasion of Canada. Of the five colonies which promised troops, only Connecticut provided its quota. From the start the expedition seemed jinxed. Smallpox and rotten pork disabled a substantial number of Connecticut troops. Finally, in view of a clearly hopeless situation, Fitz-John Winthrop, the expedition's commander, ordered a general retreat of the dispirited troops back to Albany. So the first Canadian invasion ended—a complete failure.

More dramatic than the struggle with the French and Indians was that with New York whose Governor Benjamin Fletcher, under authorization from the Lords of Trade, made Connecticut a satellite and claimed command of Connecticut's militia. In response, a special legislative session chose Fitz-John Winthrop as agent, and levied a special tax to finance his mission to England in defense of Connecticut's charter rights and the colony's control over its militia. Winthrop's mission to England lasted four years and although he was forced to accept some restrictions on Connecticut's privileges, he attained his central goal of retaining the colony's semiautonomous status within the empire.

In October 1693, meanwhile, Fletcher with some aides came to Hartford and demanded a "Yes or No" reply on his taking over the militia. The legislature replied "No," but offered money or men for New York's defense. Enraged, Fletcher again called for submission. According to tradition, he ordered his commission read to the Hartford militia parading nearby. Captain Joseph Wadsworth immediately cried out, "Beat the drums." After the great din ceased, Fletcher's aide again attempted to perform his duty, only to be drowned out by a second roll of drums. Noting the very defiant mood in Hartford, Fletcher thought it expedient to hasten his departure. As a parting criticism he asserted "I never sawe the like people."

In April 1694 London issued a decision partially supporting Connecticut's position. While upholding the charter provision giving command of the militia to the governor, it asserted that in time of crisis a chief commander over the militia of several colonies was legal. Fletcher was authorized to call out 120 Connecticut militia in war periods only, but Connecticut retained their control.

In 1697 with the Treaty of Ryswick the war officially ended in a virtual stalemate. News of peace was greeted with much jubilation and a day of public thanksgiving was celebrated. Fortunately, Connecticut lost few men though the war cost the treasury about £12,000.

The Second Round—Queen Anne's War

By 1702 an unresolved dispute over the succession to the Spanish throne once again plunged England into war with France—a conflict known in America as Queen Anne's War. Again Connecticut feared invasion by the French and their Indian allies. The concern was heightened by the action of the Iroquois, formerly English allies, who in 1701 made a peace agreement with Canada.

The war seemed remote to Connecticut, however, until the savage surprise attack made by French and Indians on Deerfield February 29, 1703/04. When the carnage ended, about fifty had perished and more than one hundred half-frozen captives were marched through the snow to Canada. This shocking raid sparked an emergency session of the General Assembly on March 15. It passed a series of preparedness measures, including the sending of sixty men for service in Hampshire County, Massachusetts. Later the assembly warned inhabitants of eight Connecticut frontier towns not to leave without obtaining prior legislative permission.

In 1707 Connecticut made a negative decision which proved fortunate. When asked by Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts to contribute a large number of men for an expedition against Port Royal, Acadia, the assembly politely declined with a gentle reminder about earlier large assistance to Hampshire County. As a result, Connecticut escaped implication in the disgraceful debacle which followed. A second attempt also failed. In 1710 Britain and the colonials launched a new attack. In this venture Connecticut provided 300 troops under Colonel William Whiting and five transports. Under an effective commander, Colonel Francis Nicholson, the combined British-colonial forces on October 2, 1710, compelled French surrender of Port Royal without a battle.

The next venture, against Quebec, came to an unbelievable

denouement. A joint land-sea expedition was planned and Connecticut pledged its quota of 300 men. At a spot where the Gulf of St. Lawrence was about seventy miles wide ten ships succeeded in running aground, with huge losses of men! Though a force adequate to capture Quebec survived this miracle of incompetence, the expedition was abandoned. This action, in turn, terminated the land expedition. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave Britain Acadia, among other places.

Wartime expenditures resulted in Connecticut's first printing of paper money—an issue of £8,000 of bills of credit in June 1709. Later emissions raised the amount to £34,000 by May 1713. Succeeding wars pushed paper bills to much higher levels.

Round Three—King George's War

European peace held until the late 1730's when sharp Anglo-Spanish rivalry and strong jingoism led to the War of Jenkins' Ear against Spain in 1739. Britain hoped to injure the Spanish-American Empire by capturing Cartagena and other ports. For this expedition Connecticut provided enough volunteers to fill three transports. Woeful incompetence, disease and fierce Spanish opposition combined to doom the attack, and only a tiny percentage of the English colonials ever returned home.

In 1744 France and England became belligerents in a broader struggle called King George's War by Americans. Its most important engagement involved an expedition against the heavily-defended French fortress at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. This French base seemed to threaten New England's fishing and trading, and even the area's independence. When the prime promoter of an attack, Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, asked Connecticut for assistance, he obtained a pledge of 500 fully-equipped men to serve under Deputy Governor Roger Wolcott.

The little Connecticut army, carried in seven transports, reached Nova Scotia successfully, despite a near-interception by a French frigate. After a close siege lasting seven weeks, the French surrendered on June 17, 1745. Wolcott exulted over the victory, calling it "such a conquest as we seldom meet with in history." For a change, the British officers praised the colonial performance!

To the extreme chagrin of the New Englanders, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 returned all conquered territories to their former holders. New England felt that its dramatic services in helping to take Louisbourg had been callously ignored by British diplomats. In Connecticut a heavy loss of men and a war-incurred debt of £166,000 in new paper money heightened the resentment over Louisbourg's return. Despite the currency problem general economic activity was stimulated by supply contracts for the troops.

The Climax—the French and Indian War

The next decade saw British-French rivalry in America attain the highest level yet. Intense competition over trade, especially in the Ohio River Valley, erupted into open conflict in 1754, marked by George Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity.

That same year the Board of Trade, alarmed by a deterioration in relations with the Iroquois and other Indian allies, called a general congress at Albany to take urgent steps toward reinvigorating the alliances. Connecticut sent three delegates, William Pitkin, Elisha Williams and Roger Wolcott, with careful instructions warning against large commitments. After dealing with Indian problems, the congress adopted a proposal for a federal plan of intercolonial organization devised by Benjamin Franklin—the Albany Plan of Union.

Since Connecticut's delegates had officially objected to some aspects of the plan, it is hardly surprising that the assembly firmly rejected it on a number of grounds. The assembly resolution called the limits of the proposed union too great for the president-general and council to administer and defend successfully. The plan would hurt the King's interests, "subvert the liberties and privileges" of the people and reduce their industry. In the end, the plan was rejected by the colonies and London. Neither felt ready for a federal system which, in retrospect, might have postponed the American Revolution or made separation by peaceful evolutionary methods possible.

In 1755 British officials, frightened by the patent disloyalty of the French in Nova Scotia, suddenly deported 6,000 of them to many English colonies, including Connecticut. On January 21, 1756, the same day that the ship *Elizabeth* arrived at New London with 277 exiles, the assembly passed a humane act providing for care of

the [illegible]adians. Fifty towns would share in housing arrangements and those too sick and infirm to travel would receive colony support. Some 700 Acadians actually entered Connecticut, where they seem to have received moderately good treatment. Always dreaming of returning to their homeland, in 1767 they began to leave Connecticut in substantial numbers. As an interesting sidelight, Nathaniel Shaw, Sr., of New London, a wealthy merchant, hired thirty-five destitute Acadians to build a handsome stone house—so solidly constructed that, as a historical museum, it welcomes visitors today.

The French and Indian War soon assumed large proportions. For an expedition against Crown Point in 1755, the colony contributed two regiments under Phineas Lyman. Part of this force under Colonel William Whiting suffered heavy losses in an ambush near Lake George. Shortly afterwards in the second of three clashes known collectively as the Battle of Lake George, the French struck hard at the colonial forces. When Sir William Johnson of New York, the commander, was wounded, Lyman assumed command and with great courage and skill checked the French until reinforcements arrived to rout them.

The next year Connecticut authorized no less than 3,300 men for the joint efforts against the French, but only the enemy achieved something—the capture of Oswego. The year 1757 brought further setbacks, although Connecticut furnished 1,400 men for the common effort. When news came that Fort William Henry faced imminent capture by Montcalm's besieging army, Connecticut rushed 5,000 more militia to the fort's rescue. En route there Connecticut's soldiers met half-naked fugitives fleeing from a brutal Indian massacre after the fort fell. Since Montcalm's army had burned the fort, Connecticut militia returned home.

The series of calamitous defeats inflicted on Britain caused a change in government and assumption of power in 1757 by William Pitt as Prime Minister. Infusing a new vigor into the war effort, Pitt asked for larger colonial forces. Connecticut responded by calling up four regiments, 5,000 men in all, under Lyman. Given Pitt's inspiring leadership, the tide of war dramatically turned in 1758. General Jeffrey Amherst, supplied with an impressive army of regulars and colonials and supported by a fleet, conducted an efficient siege of Louisbourg, which resulted in surrender on July 26, 1758. Fort Duquesne and Fort Frontenac also capitulated to British troops.

On another front, the invasion of Canada via the Champlain Valley, affairs went badly from the start. Although Connecticut troops under Lyman performed valiantly, General James Abercromby provided such dismal leadership that nothing was accomplished. In contempt the colonials nicknamed their commander "Mrs. Nabbycromby!"

Undismayed by Abercromby's fiasco, Pitt laid plans for a decisive American campaign in 1759. When asked for 5,000 troops, Connecticut voted 3,600 men; and later, under pressure, 1,000 more. Serving under General Amherst, Lyman's men participated in the reduction of Ft. Ticonderoga. Less than two months later General James Wolfe earned his greatest victory in the stirring battle on the Plains of Abraham, after which Quebec fell on September 17, 1759. The French and Indian War reached its closing chapter in 1760 with the expedition against Montreal, in which Connecticut forces took part. When Amherst's army was stopped at Oswegatchie by two French vessels, Colonel Israel Putnam of Connecticut led a force of 1,000 men, stripped to the waist, who quickly swarmed over the two ships. Early in September Amherst's army, joined by other British forces, overcame the French. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763 Britain took all French possessions in America except a few islands.

For Connecticut the war since 1757 had involved military service for about twenty percent of the able-bodied men. From 1755 through March 1764 the colony printed £346,500 in bills of credit, but taxed heavily enough to pay off all except £82,000 by early 1764. Parliamentary reimbursement and major army contracts helped to keep the colony prosperous—so much so that no taxes were levied from 1766 through 1769. In terms of military contributions Connecticut ranked at or near the top among the English colonies.

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VII Earning a Living

Farming—Connecticut's Chief Occupation

From the earliest days of the colony most men found it necessary to cultivate the soil. The fertile soil of the Connecticut River Valley had provided the major lure for the three earliest English settlements. As time passed, occupations became more diversified, but to the end of the colonial period most artisans and professional men farmed part time.

It is interesting to note that the early settlements were made in the warmer parts of Connecticut—the coast and the Connecticut River Valley. Even here the growing season—about six months—is relatively short.

Extremes of precipitation—droughts and floods—always have been rare. Precipitation, then presumably as now, was distributed fairly evenly throughout the year and totaled about forty-five inches annually. Other than rockiness and thinness of soil in upland areas there were no major obstacles to establishment of an agrarian society. Those who settled in the more fertile river valleys and coastal lowlands, however, found farming easier and more profitable.

In pioneer times settlers discovered that maize, or Indian corn, constituted a highly dependable food so it became the chief crop. Usually farmers planted it in hills three or four feet apart and often used fish as fertilizer. An ancient rhyme depicts the fate of corn kernels:

> One for the bug,
> One for the crow,
> One to rot,
> And two to grow.

By late colonial times farmers with good soil realized yields of twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre. Since corn was relatively simple to plant and cultivate, it was grown in all parts of the colony.

In 1680 the governor and council received a questionnaire from London. Their reply included a succinct picture of agriculture. Indian corn, peas, rye, wheat, wool, flax, hemp, barley, pork, beef,

apple cider and pear cider (parry) were listed as the principal agricultural products. In an answer of 1762 to new queries from London the governor and council enumerated a similar list of exports, but added flour, bread, horses, some cattle, sheep, swine and oats. They considered pork and beef as their staples.

By the late colonial period most farmers still raised large amounts of corn, beans, peas, squash, pumpkins and turnips, while Wethersfield specialized in onions. Apples were very popular, especially when changed into cider and "apple-jack," or brandy!

One of Connecticut's earliest crops was tobacco, probably grown in Windsor by 1640. The settlers then grew the same leaf —*poke* or *ottomauch*—raised by valley Indians. Because of its bitter taste colonists later replaced it with a milder West Indian variety. By 1700 an export trade in tobacco leaf had developed, but after 1750 tobacco income slumped because of Virginia competition and wars.

About 1750 a basic change occurred in Connecticut's agriculture—a shift from soil tillage to grazing. Expanding markets in the West Indies and mainland colonies encouraged farmers to expand production of cattle, horses, mules, sheep and hogs. Increasingly farmers planted red clover, timothy and other English grasses which insured fatter livestock. Cattle from Vermont and New York were driven to Connecticut for fattening up through the winter, spring and summer for fall sale. Also, the by-products, butter and cheese, were exported to the South and the West Indies.

In the beginning of the economic revolution in Connecticut during the second half of the century, considerable geographical specialization developed. Rye, flaxseed, wheat and onions were cultivated in river valleys and lowlands. Rye and oats were raised in the valley, inland New Haven and Fairfield counties and the limestone area of Litchfield County. While grain was mostly consumed in the colony, some was exported and by the late 1760's the export of flour had become substantial. In Fairfield and New Haven counties and the Connecticut Valley, farmers produced much flaxseed and sent some to New York City where part of it was exported to Ireland. Flaxseed was so valuable that one barrel often was traded for two of salt.

The boom in meat and dairy products reflected growing demand plus the fact that livestock could be pastured almost anywhere in the colony, including the hilly rocky areas of the eastern and western highlands.

Photo by Ray Mainwaring

The David Judson House (1723) at Stratford—a comfortable home of a well-to-do family.

In 1760 Nathaniel Aspinwall brought cuttings from mulberry trees to Mansfield and started an orchard. He and Ezra Stiles of New Haven provided the leadership in establishing a silk industry which was centered in Mansfield but spread to other towns.

Unfortunately agricultural practices in Connecticut, as in other colonies, generally were inefficient. Given scarce and expensive labor, abundant land, primitive tools and limited markets, farmers practiced *extensive* agriculture—the use of small amounts of labor and fertilizer applied to large amounts of land. Frequently the seed was poor, also. Gradually tools were improving as rakes,

scythes, forks, flails and harrows began to appear. The sturdy patient oxen continued as the farmer's most reliable servant, though horses were becoming fairly common.

Like a voice crying in the wilderness came the recommendations of Jared Eliot, Killingworth clergyman, who wrote and spoke for improved agricultural methods to restore worn-out lands, drain bogs and develop a staple such as hemp.

To the end of the colonial period many families practiced subsistence farming; kept some livestock; raised food, wool and flax; made their own clothing as well as tools and simple furniture; and because of dire lack of cash tried desperately to be self-sufficient. By the mid-century many farmers were beginning to produce enough surplus, especially livestock, beef, pork, dairy products, flaxseed and onions, to provide goods for export trade. Thus they earned income to purchase much-coveted English manufactures, mostly through Boston and New York.

The Beginnings of Manufacturing

While every farm family practiced manufacturing at home in producing implements for home use, manufacturing in the sense of turning out articles in quantity for sale in a local or distant market remained limited.

In a typical agricultural village the gristmill was usually the first authorized manufacturing enterprise. The early undershot mills, located on small streams, performed small-scale grinding of grain. Later, as population grew, higher-capacity mills, often of the overshot type, were constructed on larger streams. Similarly sawmills became common, as a grant in 1653 to John Winthrop, Jr., in New London indicated.

Aware of the great profits in England's growing trade, the legislature passed acts to encourage flax growing for cloth, and hemp for cordage and canvas. A few fulling mills for finishing cloth appeared in such places as East Hartford and Stamford. In 1766 at Norwich enterprising Christopher Leffingwell initiated two businesses—papermaking and stocking-weaving. Soon afterwards he built fulling mills and a chocolate factory.

As early as 1638 Thomas Nash of New Haven launched Connecticut's clock industry. Little more progress was made, however,

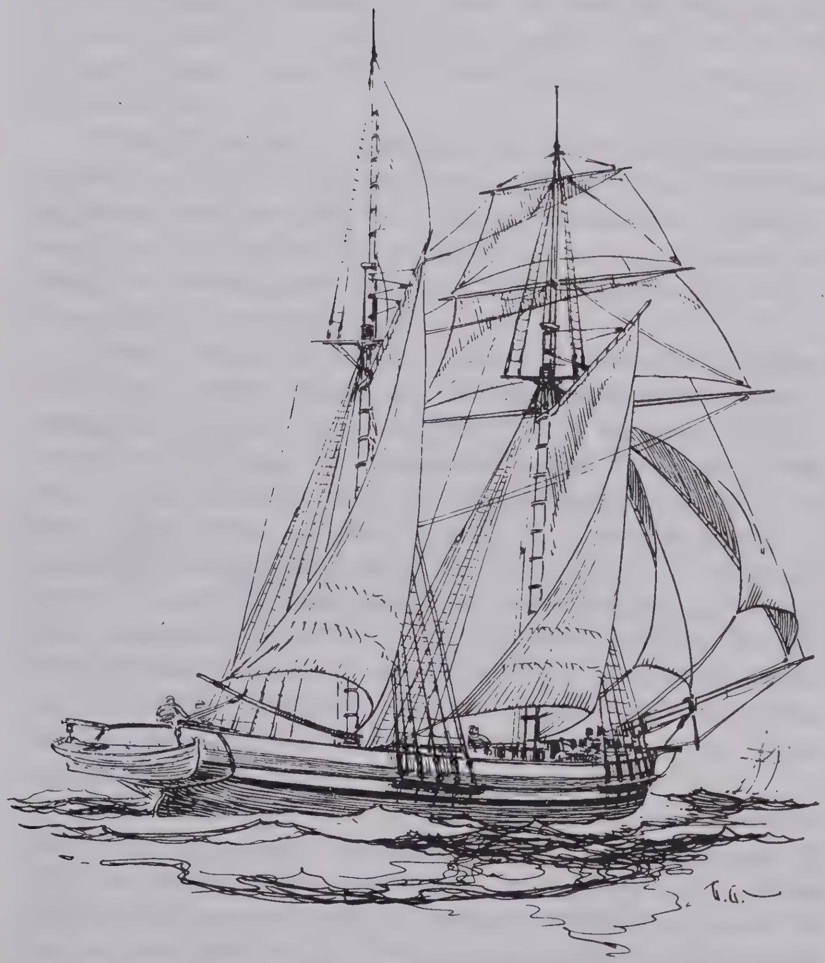
until 1726 when Ebenezer Parmele built a tower clock for Guilford's meetinghouse. Colonial clockmakers of distinction included Benjamin Cheney, Seth Young(s) and Thomas Harland. Over forty clockmakers made clocks, some of which still grace Connecticut homes and museums.

One other industry, ironmaking, became solidly established in the colonial era. In the 1650's promoters instituted ironmaking at East Haven and New London—efforts which greatly interested John Winthrop, Jr. It was not until many decades later, however, that Connecticut's best iron deposits were discovered in the northwest. In 1732 an iron mine was opened at Ore Hill, Salisbury, and in 1734, a forge at nearby Lime Rock. Prior to the Revolution new blast furnaces began operations at Canaan, Kent, Lakeville and Roxbury.

Shipbuilding Flourishes in Connecticut

Bringing in more income than most industries was shipbuilding. Blessed with abundant timber and numerous navigable rivers and protected coastal ports, Connecticut early began building small vessels for the coastal and West Indian trades. Usually a small family enterprise, shipbuilding provided supplementary revenue. Often a vessel was started in the fall after the harvest and completed early in the spring. The most popular types constructed were ketches and sloops—small craft with one mast and fore-and-aft sails. In the later colonial years larger two-masted vessels of the brig, brigantine and snow types became popular. Some demand existed, also, for the bark and schooner—a type increasingly popular in the eighteenth century.

In the 1660's John Coit established New London's first shipbuilding business with construction of three small barks. Through the years the Coits constructed many small vessels. Joshua Hempsted's *Diary* notes that he worked in the Coit shipyard. In January 1712/13 Hempsted himself agreed to build a complete thirty-five foot sloop for £65—payable half in money and half in goods. The Coits and others kept New London in the forefront of shipbuilding. Numerous other towns such as Norwich, New Haven, Branford, Guilford, Fairfield, Stratford, Saybrook, Essex, Middle Haddam, Middletown, Rocky Hill, Glastonbury, Wethersfield and Hartford kept shipbuilders busy, also.



Colonial topsail schooner.

Courtesy of Mystic Seaport. Photo by Louis S. Martel

The 1756 account of Connecticut vessels, prepared for the Board of Trade, affords a good breakdown. It lists by name seventy-four vessels with a tonnage of 3,202 and crews totaling 415. The vessels ranged from 15 tons burden to 90, with those around 40 tons the most common. Crews numbered from 3 to 10, with 6 the most prevalent size.

Because of abundant timber, New Englanders could construct vessels for about thirty percent less than the English. Occasionally Connecticut vessels were sold abroad after their owners had profited from the outward cargo. Normally, however, owners used their vessel for ten to fifteen years before rot overcame the timbers, if indeed shipwreck or other catastrophes had not intervened.

Connecticut's Enterprising Merchants

From the early colonial days Connecticut Yankees engaged in trading. A typical farmer brought his surplus corn, pork, beef, rye, oats, tallow, staves, livestock, vegetables, apples and cider to the local storekeeper. These products were bartered with him for stock usually described as "European" and "West Indian," meaning goods such as sugar, molasses, rum, spices, indigo, many kinds of cloth, glassware, powder, shot, guns, wines and bar iron. The shopkeeper in turn took his produce, or "country pay," plus occasional small amounts of cash to the merchant of a larger town, such as Middletown or New Haven, where he exchanged it for needed European and West Indian goods. The town merchant then sent most of the goods received from country shopkeepers and his own local customers to a major importing center such as Boston, New York or possibly Newport. There he purchased English goods from one of the importing or "sedentary" merchants. Because of the chronic severe shortage of coins, a larger percentage of trade was conducted on a credit basis while direct barter gradually declined.

Famous Connecticut storekeepers included Benedict Arnold and Roger Sherman. Attracted by the remarkably rapid growth of population and trade in New Haven, Sherman left New Milford to settle there. In 1760 he opened a store which he managed skillfully for over a decade. He carried a varied stock including dry goods, ribbons, silks, spices, books and pamphlets and seems to have prospered. One of the greatest problems facing Sherman and

other merchants was the unstable and depreciating paper money from Rhode Island and New Hampshire which debtors eagerly forced upon them. In 1752 Sherman vigorously expressed his views in a pamphlet denouncing those currencies and demanding assembly legislation to prohibit their use. That very year the assembly declared recent Rhode Island bills of credit illegal, and in 1755 outlawed specific issues of both Rhode Island and New Hampshire bills of credit.

Although peddlers are commonly associated with Connecticut, actually they seem to have been frequently unpopular. In 1757 the legislature voted to require them to secure a license for which a five pound fee was required and provide penalties for unlicensed peddling. To provide tighter control in 1765 the assembly raised the license fee to twenty pounds.

While Connecticut lacked a powerful mercantile aristocracy of the type which Boston and Philadelphia boasted, scattered among about twenty towns one could find a significant group of substantial merchants. If Connecticut had a "merchant prince" prior to the Revolution, it was probably Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., of New London. Over the years he built up a complex network of commercial correspondents along the coast, in the West Indies and even in London. He traded extensively with such men and firms as Peter Vandervoort (New York City), Thomas and Isaac Wharton (Philadelphia), Joshua Elderkin (Windham), Josiah Waters (Boston), Christopher Champlin (Newport), William Packwood (Martinique), John and Michael Dykers (St. Eustatius), John Hodson (Amsterdam) and Lane and Booth (London).

In the voluminous Shaw papers at Yale one can examine innumerable voyages and transactions in which Shaw engaged. In 1769, for instance, a Shaw vessel, the *Lucretia,* sailed for the West Indies with a cargo consisting of 48 horses, 15,000 pine boards, 148 shaken casks, 8,000 hoops, 2,300 staves, 28 barrels of beef, 8 barrels of pork, 9 tierces of bread, 11 tons of hay, 600 bushels of oats, 68 casks of water and sundries—the entire cargo valued at £894.14.0.

This particular cargo typified those carried from Connecticut to the West Indies. In return Connecticut vessels brought molasses, sugar, salt, tropical fruits and much-sought bills of exchange. All reports agree that while the coastal trade was extensive, the West

Indian trade produced the largest profits. Connecticut merchants usually traded directly with the West Indies instead of making them part of a triangle involving Europe or Africa. Favorite destinations were British Barbados, Antigua, Grenada, St. Kitts and Jamaica; French Guadeloupe and Martinique; Dutch St. Eustatius; and Spanish Hispaniola. For salt shippers frequented Turks Island, among other places.

The West Indian trade mainly prospered after 1700 because of the increasing popularity of rum among the masses. While the wealthier preferred West India rum, the Connecticut distilleries made increasing quantities of New England rum for ordinary people.

Since sugar remained expensive, molasses found increasing favor as a cheaper sweetener. This stepped-up demand for molasses in turn encouraged Connecticut merchants to seek it at lower prices in the foreign West Indies, especially Guadeloupe and Martinique. The Molasses Act of 1733 placed a high duty on foreign molasses, but because of lax enforcement had little impact on Connecticut.

Many recommended a direct trade with Britain but few Connecticut merchants dared to try. Among the few was Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon, the future governor, who in 1750, joined Elisha Williams and Joseph Pitkin as Williams, Trumbull and Pitkin. The firm never prospered and was terminated after Williams' death in 1755. In early 1764 Trumbull joined with his son Joseph and Eleazer Fitch of Windham in a new partnership, Trumbull, Fitch and Trumbull. Among other activities this firm traded with two major London firms—Lane and Booth, and Champion and Hayley. They also imported varied English goods through Boston. Unfortunately a lethal combination of bad markets, nonpaying debtors, sunken ships and plain mismanagement wrecked the firm's financial position and plunged Trumbull into unofficial bankruptcy by the late 1760's. His election as governor in 1769 came just in time to prevent an overwhelming onslaught by creditors. Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., on the other hand, apparently made some money out of his English ventures.

probably
son of

Ebenezer^3
James^2
James^1

OR
Eleazer
also had a
son Eleazer

Many merchants invested in the coastal trade which earlier had been dominated by Boston. By the late colonial period New York had wrested first place from Boston. From 1758-67 even New

London reported far more trade with New York than Boston. Unable to purchase European goods directly, Connecticut merchants relied on New York and Boston importers.

A traveler to Connecticut around 1760 vividly likened the colony "to a cask of good liquor, tapped at both ends, at one of which Boston draws, and New York at the other, till little is left in it but lees and settlings." Although Joseph Trumbull prepared a comprehensive plan aimed at ending Connecticut's dependence on New York and Boston, he conceded that "most of our Traders know nothing of Trade in any other way, and have been so long in it, they are like a Horse in mill, they keep on the same beaten way, without Turning to the Right Hand or the left."

Some Connecticut merchants, however, traded with other places besides New York and Boston. To the east they found growing profits at Halifax and other Nova Scotian ports, Falmouth (Portland), Piscataqua (Portsmouth), Salem, Nantucket, Newport and Providence. To the south Connecticut captains frequently visited Philadelphia, Annapolis, Chesapeake Bay and the Carolinas.

Typically, in order to spread risks, several persons owned a vessel and shared profits or losses. Even the cargoes were varied to avoid having a large amount of one article produce a glutted market. The captain of a small Connecticut sloop was allowed wide latitude as to where and for how much he sold his cargo, and what he secured for the return cargo. The captain and sometimes other crew members were often permitted a "privilege" of shipping a few goods as a private speculation.

Connecticut still exhibited a very provincial outlook, but its rapidly expanding trade was widening the intellectual horizons of the people. While only a small percentage of its citizens actively participated in maritime activities, they changed Connecticut from a scattered area of agricultural villages to a colony involved in the world. The mariners, moreover, sold much surplus produce and thus elevated many farmers from meager subsistence farming to comfortable standards of living. The import of English manufactures vastly increased daily living comfort. Maritime-related economic activities such as shipbuilding and repairing, sail and ropemaking and retailing all added substantially to the income of port towns.

Other Occupations Unimportant

A comparative handful of men earned a living in other ways. There always was fishing in the lakes, rivers, the Sound and the open ocean, but it was generally only a supplementary source of income. Connecticut never approached the level of Massachusetts which had superb fishing grounds much closer. Since there was no regular army or navy, no military class existed, except as militia served in wartime. A small but important professional class was developing slowly. With increasing trade and business generally the legal profession was growing. With the strong Puritan commitment to education, teachers were fairly numerous. Physicians still were very scarce, but held an honored place in society. Overall farming clearly dominated as the means of livelihood.

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VIII Society of Colonial Connecticut

A Burgeoning Population

In common with other English colonies Connecticut enjoyed very rapid population growth. Estimated at 800 persons in 1636 and 2,000 in 1640, it had jumped to about 12,000 by 1675; perhaps 30,000 by 1701; and to 130,612 in the first census—that of January 1, 1756. No later census is available until 1774, but a reply to the Board of Trade in 1774 indicated a population of about 145,500 in 1762. The list of ten most populous towns for 1756 offers contrasts to the present.

TEN MOST POPULOUS TOWNS WITH TAX LISTS

Town	1756 Census	1756 Tax Assessment	Rank in Assessment
1 Middletown	5,664	£48,692	4
2 Norwich	5,540	58,008	1
3 New Haven	5,085	54,141	2
4 Fairfield	4,455	50,762	3
5 Windsor	4,220	40,400	8
6 Wallingford	3,713	41,205	7
7 Farmington	3,707	43,094	6
8 Stratford	3,658	43,100	5
9 Stonington	3,518	35,660	10
10 Lebanon	3,274	39,749	9

The high value of the assessments in New Haven and Norwich suggests the relative prosperity of those two bustling ports—active in coastal and West Indian trade.

Connecticut's black population in 1756 totaled 3,019—or 2.3 percent of the total. They were most numerous in Fairfield (260), Norwich (223), Middletown (218) and Stonington (200). All evidence indicates that the great majority were slaves.

Only a small remnant of Connecticut's once proud Indian population had survived to 1756. The census revealed just 617 Indians in three towns—Stonington (365), Groton (158) and Lyme (94).

It is interesting to note that in 1756 Hartford had only 3,027 inhabitants and Waterbury, just 1,829. Obviously no town approached in size what the modern word "city" suggests. In fact, the modest population figures for each town included its entire area—much of which was rural in nature.

The population was concentrated along Long Island Sound with fingers up the Connecticut River, Thames River to Norwich and Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers. In the Eastern and Western Highlands it thinned out rapidly. Poor rockier soils partly explain this; but for Litchfield County, which in places possessed rich limestone-based soils, one finds the explanation in late settlement. The entire county claimed only 11,827 and just one relatively populous town—Woodbury. This county was Connecticut's last frontier, but even it was filling rapidly by the 1750's.

Family Life

To understand a society well one must examine its family life. The Puritans held the happily-married and devoted couple in great honor. Thomas Hooker wrote with great sensitivity about conjugal love, as this sample indicates:

> That the Husband tenders his Spouse with an indeared affection above al mortal creatures: This appeares by the expressions of his respect, that all he hath, is at her command, al he can do, is wholly improved for her content and comfort, she lies in his Bosom, and his heart trusts in her, which forceth al to confess, that the stream of his affection, like a mighty current, runs with ful Tide and strength.

To Puritans the family structure was strictly hierarchical. The husband rated superior to the wife; parents, to children; and masters, to servants or slaves. This was considered divinely ordained.

Puritans deemed it necessary to control marriage from the start. To prevent young couples from contracting rash and unwise marriages, in 1640 Connecticut became the only colony requiring espousals by law. Eight days in advance of entering into a contract of espousals occurred the required publication of the banns—public announcement of intent to marry. Once this contract was signed, eight more days must elapse before the actual marriage ceremony. Everywhere in New England an engaged couple was set apart and considered as all but married.

In its Code of 1650 Connecticut insisted that youth under age and still under control of parents or guardians must not enter into

espou[illegible] and marriage without parental or guardian permission. Amusingly enough, the Code specifically forbade third parties to "intermeddle" in marriage plans!

Connecticut Puritans considered marriage a civil ceremony to be performed by a local magistrate—an injunction not lifted until 1686. Usually the final public event was a party where much feasting and drinking enlivened the scene. Under the Dominion of New England ministers first were authorized to perform marriages, though Connecticut did not enact legislation to this effect until 1694. Given this sanction many young ladies preferred the religious ceremony and more impressive setting for a wedding in the meetinghouse, filled with relatives and friends.

Then as today, occasionally a man and woman preferred living together without benefit of clergy. In New London, according to tradition, the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall encountered such an infamous couple. Immediately he questioned them thus: "Do you really, John, take this your servant-maid, bought with your money, for your wife? Do you, Mary, take this man so much older than yourself for your husband?" Obtaining an affirmative reply from both, he replied: "Then I pronounce you, according to the laws of this colony, man and wife." Whereupon John shook his head and replied, "Ah, Gurdon! Thou art a cunning creature."

While there were few impediments to a lawful marriage, Connecticut made it difficult to obtain a divorce. Marriage was considered a permanent union not to be severed until death, except for extraordinary cause. In the early years a sprinkling of divorces was granted. An early case in 1655 concerned Goody Beckwith of Fairfield whose husband had deserted her. Mrs. Beckwith was ordered to submit her evidence to the magistrate's court at Stratford with authorization to said court to grant a divorce.

Cases of desertion continued to arise occasionally. In 1677 Mary Murrain, wife of Patrick Murrain, charged that he had willfully deserted her for over six years. The assembly then declared her divorced "w[i]th liberty to disspose herselfe in marriage, as God shall grant her oppertunety."

It was not always the woman who felt aggrieved. In 1657 Robert Wade of Saybrook petitioned for divorce on grounds that for fifteen years his wife Elizabeth had refused to live with him,

either in England or Connecticut. The Court decided that Wade had exercised sufficient patience and granted the divorce!

After several decades of handling divorce cases on an individual basis, in 1677 the legislature enacted a general statute. This established adultery, fraudulent contract, willful desertion for three years with complete neglect of duty or seven years "providentiall absence" without communication (constituting legal death) as grounds for divorce.

Though extreme cruelty was not specifically listed as grounds, the assembly could find it adequate cause. In 1753 Mary Larkum charged her husband with conduct so "barbarous and inhuman" that she feared for her very life. On being summoned before the assembly Job Larkum admitted the charges. They thereupon promptly granted the divorce.

Both Connecticut and New Haven made adultery a capital offense. In practice, the death penalty was considered too extreme, but fines, whippings, brandings and wearing of a letter "A" were common punishments.

While legally parental authority over children's marriage was large, it still was limited. They might prevent a young man from courting their daughter, withhold a child's dowry and even deny permission for marriage; yet they were not supposed to force a child into an unwanted marriage. To be good Puritan parents they must respect the preferences of their children. In practice, both parents and children should consent to a match.

John Winthrop, Jr.'s, children seem to have amicably accepted the guidance of their parents. Yet a few decades later in 1707, Fitz-John Winthrop, a son of the governor, declared that it was the custom of the country for young folks to make their own choice of a mate, and except in case of major disqualification the community acceded. Obviously Puritan youth were moving away from passive acceptance of parental choice.

While parents less and less determined the choice, they often haggled disgracefully over the financial terms of the proposed marriage. Edmund S. Morgan finds evidence that a girl's parents normally gave only half as much dowry as the boy's.

Many writers have quoted Sarah Kemble Knight's statement that males in Connecticut more often married under twenty years

t[illegible] over. No careful statistical study of marriage yet has been published for colonial Connecticut, but studies of Plymouth and Andover, Massachusetts, indicate marriages took place later than usually thought. In Plymouth the mean age of first marriage for men born in the 1600-1700 period ranged downward from 27 to 24.6; for women in the same period, a rising trend from 20.6 to 22.3. In Andover the average age at marriage of men in the second and third generations was 26.7 and 27.1 respectively; for women, 22.3 and 24.5.

Late marriage resulted partly from the lengthy wait necessary to acquire enough land to support a family. Many fathers sought to retain control over their children by not distributing their land except by will. New England farms were small and often became smaller when a father divided his land among two or more sons. There could be relief, however, if a town decided to parcel out any remaining undivided land.

While colonial families of amazing size, 15 to 20 or more children, existed, they seem to have been rare. In Andover the average number of children in all families in the first two generations was approximately eight, of which seven reached age twenty-one. It seems likely that Connecticut families of this period would have had similar numbers of children.

In the nucleated agricultural towns which dotted the Connecticut landscape the patriarchal family lived with its ideals of hierarchy, order and tight community. Very possibly the strong controls instituted by parents seemed necessary in a household often numbering ten to a dozen or more, when one considers that sundry grandparents, uncles and aunts might also be living in the household.

At an early age the children learned that idle hands were sinful. Girls cared for infants, sewed, cooked, cleaned, spun flax, combed wool and generally helped their hard-pressed mothers. Boys chopped wood and brought it in, fed and watered the livestock, picked berries, weeded, gathered vegetables, spooled yarn and ran a variety of errands. Some sons were bound out as an apprentice to learn a trade. Undoubtedly a son often hunted or fished with his father.

Despite the intense emphasis on work children managed to play games surprisingly like some of those still enjoyed. A book of the Revolutionary period lists such games and pastimes as kiteflying, hop-skip-and-jump, swimming, leapfrog, hopscotch and target-shooting. Children's toys, while rare, were sold and a few dolls and other items have survived.

Religious families had prayers and the daily reading of scriptures. According to the Code of 1650 parents were required at least weekly to catechize all children and servants on the principles of religion. From daily exposure to the Bible many children must have known it well.

To children of today, usually brought up permissively, the severely-disciplined Puritan child, circumscribed by so many "do's" and "don'ts," may seem unfortunate. Yet there is little evidence that Puritan children seriously suffered from parental strictness. They expected rigorous discipline and their familial responsibilities usually were clearly delineated, with failures promptly punished. In the large families then prevalent the authoritarian regime had the virtue, too, of preventing complete chaos in everyday living. Despite austere living conditions the Connecticut family found rich and enduring values in its living patterns.

Blacks in Connecticut

The institution of slavery apparently began soon after the River Colony and New Haven were established. Edward Hopkins and George Wyllys of Hartford, and John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton of New Haven owned slaves, as did other well-to-do settlers. Eaton seems to have justified his ownership of at least three slaves by reference to the Biblical term "strangers." Apparently he felt that it was justifiable to impose slavery on those not embracing true religion.

Negro slavery never attained large dimensions in any part of New England. No staple crop required gangs of workers, as did tobacco or rice. The indentured servant system seemed a far better method to meet the section's acute need for a larger labor force and was widely used. At an early date New England developed trade with the West Indian islands which already had a well-established slave system. Inevitably traders from that area sought to sell surplus slaves. Puritans had mixed feelings about the morality of

slavery, but public opinion at least tolerated the institution. Captivity of Indians as a result of a just war was considered proper, and some Pequots were made slaves. Others were shipped to Providence Island. In return Negro slaves were brought from that island to Massachusetts. If Massachusetts could condone slavery, is it surprising that Connecticut emulated the colony which so often served as its model?

The earliest official information about slavery appears in 1680 in Connecticut's reply to queries from London—it reported not over thirty slaves. Usually only three or four yearly were imported from Barbados at a price averaging about £22 apiece.

By 1690 Connecticut had enough Negroes to precipitate legislation forbidding them to wander outside the town's boundaries without a special pass from their master or the town's authority. Ferrymen particularly were ordered to insist on the pass. The master was liable for costs incurred in returning his slave.

It is apparent that at an early date some slaveholders had manumitted their slaves, often after many years of service. Reluctant to have the towns pay for freedmen who needed financial relief, the legislature in 1702 declared the former owner liable for any costs involved. In its operation this law might well serve to discourage manumission.

The preamble to an assembly act of 1708 suggests a significant increase in the number of slaves by that time:

> And whereas negro and molatto servants or slaves are become numerous in some parts of this Colonie, and are very apt to be turbulent, and often quarrelling with white people to the great disturbance of the peace . . .

The act provided that if a slave or servant disturbed the peace or struck a white person, he would incur a penalty of whipping, to a maximum of thirty stripes for a single offense.

On April 15, 1708, the Lords of Trade wrote Connecticut requesting information on such matters as the number of Negroes annually imported directly from Africa, by whom and the rates charged. The governor and council replied that from June 1698 to December 1707 not a single vessel of any type had transported Negroes from Africa to Connecticut. They reported only a few Negroes, who usually were supplied from neighboring provinces except occasionally a half dozen or so yearly imported from the West Indies. While Connecticut's replies often were uninformative, probably this one accurately represented the situation.

A few years later in 1723 the assembly considered it necessary to prohibit Negroes and Indians from moving about after 9 P.M. at night except when under specific orders from their masters. A punishment of up to ten stripes and court costs awaited the violator. Anybody entertaining such wanderers in his home after 9 P.M. rendered himself liable to a fine of twenty shillings.

The famous journal of Mrs. Sarah Kemble Knight of Boston revealed not only Mrs. Knight's outlook on racial relations in 1704-05 but also the prevalence of an easy informality in Connecticut.

> And they Generally lived very well and comfortably in their famelies. But too Indulgent (especially the farmers) to their slaves: sufering too great familiarity from them, permitting them to sit at Table and eat with them, (as they say to save time,) and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer . . . who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctualy perform; w[hi]ch caused some hard words between them; But at length they put the matter to Arbitration and Bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named—w[hi]ch done, the Arbitrators Having heard the Allegations of both parties, Order the master to pay 40s to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the matter ended: the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

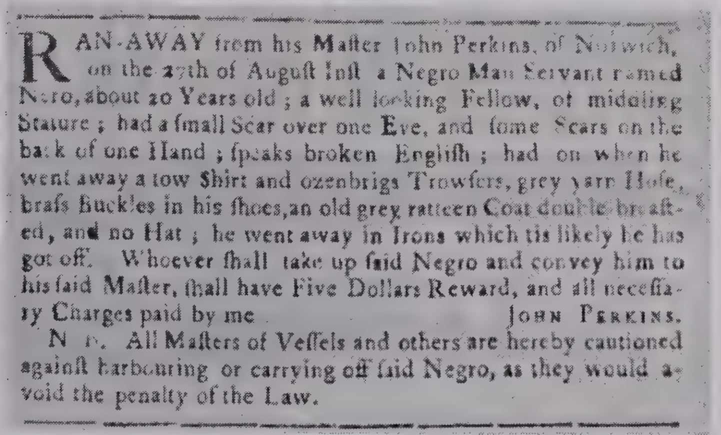
In Connecticut's diversified agricultural economy of small farms even the more prosperous farmers could use only one to three slaves. Many actually worked *beside* a master and not just *for* him. If the master spent time in nonagricultural occupations such as fishing, shipbuilding, lumbering and trading, he might use his slave as an assistant there, also.

The largest slaveholder in colonial Connecticut apparently was Godfrey Malbone who after mercantile reverses in Newport, Rhode Island, retired to a large estate in the Brooklyn society of Pomfret. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford; much traveled; and a stanch Anglican, he attempted to live the life of an aristocrat even in rural Brooklyn. In 1764 his estate included twenty-seven Negroes. In his later life, returns on his slave labor became so poor that costs exceeded profits. Ellen Larned, Windham County historian, described his slaves in these terms:

They were a happy, jolly set, fond of fiddling and frolicking. Once a year they held a grand jubilee, electing a *king*, and installing him in office. Pero, the most intelligent of their number, son of an African king, usually obtained their suffrages and received royal homage. Some of these negroes left their master during the Revolution.

Other prominent Connecticut leaders also possessed Negro slaves. Larned refers to Eliphalet Dyer in Windham as having a "houseful of negroes, great and small." Norwich had an unusually large number of blacks—partly free and partly slave. In the early 1700's the price for slaves ranged from 60 shillings to £30. Captain John Perkins at the time of his death in 1761 had fifteen slaves which placed him among the largest slaveholders of the colony. In Norwich the Negroes for many years staged a mock election of a black governor. Their masters provided food, liquor and decorations for the ceremonial affair which provided much pleasure, excitement and sometimes disorder.

From John Davenport on many ministers owned a slave or two. The list included Joseph Moss of Derby, John Southmayd and Mark Leavenworth of Waterbury, Jared Eliot of Killingworth, Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford, Daniel Wadsworth of Hartford and Nicholas Street of East Haven. Joseph Noyes of New Haven bequeathed an estate of £3,600 mostly in land, four negro slaves and £25 of books. His widow manumitted the slaves. It was commonly asserted that ministers' slaves were noted for piety, gained presumably by close contact with their masters. For the ministers it was a convenient arrangement through which they had the work done on their farms.



RAN-AWAY from his Maſter John Perkins, of Norwich, on the 27th of Auguſt Inſt. a Negro Man Servant named Nero, about 20 Years old; a well looking Fellow, of middling Stature; had a ſmall Scar over one Eye, and ſome Scars on the back of one Hand; ſpeaks broken Engliſh; had on when he went away a tow Shirt and ozenbrigs Trowſers, grey yarn Hoſe, braſs Buckles in his ſhoes, an old grey ratteen Coat double breaſted, and no Hat; he went away in Irons which tis likely he has got off. Whoever ſhall take up ſaid Negro and convey him to his ſaid Maſter, ſhall have Five Dollars Reward, and all neceſſary Charges paid by me JOHN PERKINS.

N. B. All Maſters of Veſſels and others are hereby cautioned againſt harbouring or carrying off ſaid Negro, as they would avoid the penalty of the Law.

Courtesy of Connecticut Historical Society

Advertisement from *The New-London Summary* (1759).

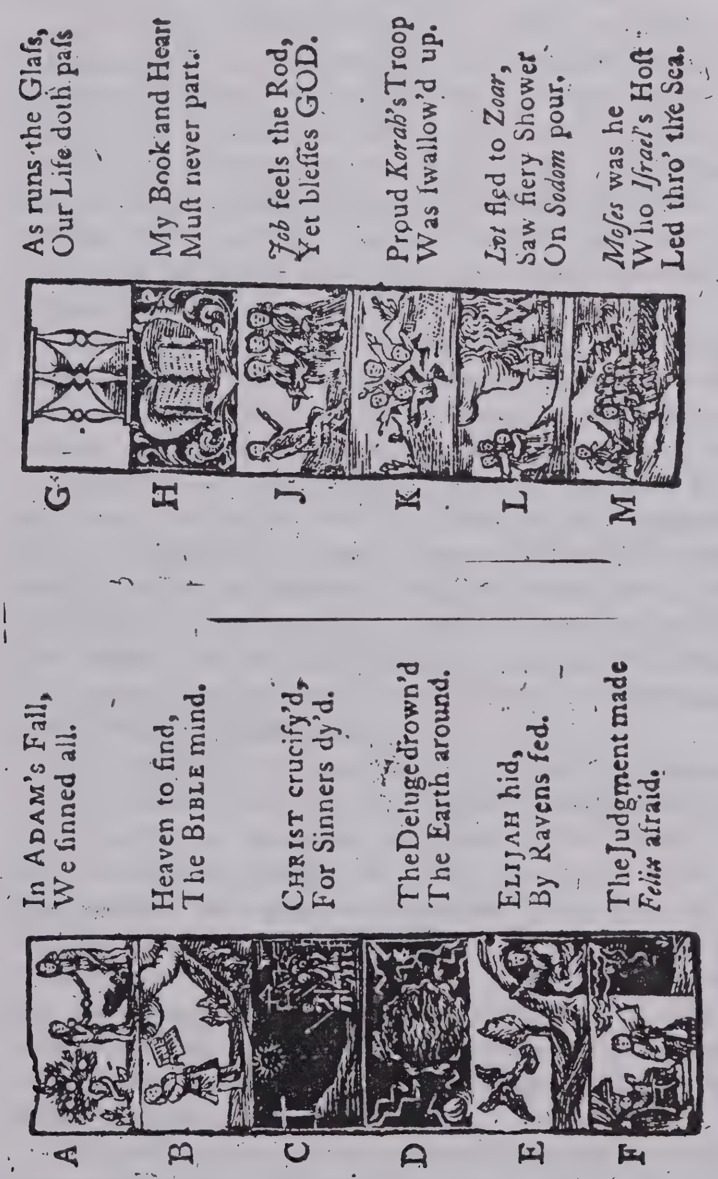
The absence of *any* legislation concerning slaves from 1730 to 1774, when import of "any indian, negro or molatto slave" into Connecticut was prohibited, suggests a stable situation and no strong movement for abolition. Very few Connecticut citizens appear to have openly opposed slavery. Aaron Cleveland (1744-1815), minister for many years in Norwich and later elsewhere, may have been the first Connecticut writer to denounce slavery. On the eve of the Revolution he supposedly contributed the articles appearing in the *Norwich Packet* on the subject, and in 1775 he published an antislavery poem. Only after the war did the legislature provide for gradual emancipation, and not until 1848 was slavery finally formally abolished.

Slavery in New England operated with certain ameliorative conditions. In many cases Puritan masters wanted their slaves to read and write so they could perform work requiring these skills. If the various laws regulating Negroes comprised a sort of code, there is no evidence of rigorous enforcement. Also, marriage was encouraged for Negroes and the usual procedures, including publishing the banns, were followed. While no consistent widespread effort to convert Negroes to Puritanism was made, there was no prohibition against it and some were converted.

In summary, the Negro's status in Connecticut usually was one of slavery—but far less rigorous in practice than in the South or the West Indies. While Puritan slaveholders seem to have felt few pangs of conscience over owning slaves, they were careful to keep the number relatively small and thus avoided the nightmarish fears of insurrection which haunted other sections.

A Continuing Concern for Education

Throughout the colonial period Connecticut evidenced a commitment to education. The Code of 1650 required every town with fifty or more families to hire a teacher of reading and writing. When


A
In ADAM's Fall,
We ſinned all.
B
Heaven to find,
The BIBLE mind.
C
CHRIST crucify'd,
For Sinners dy'd.
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The Deluge drown'd
The Earth around.
E
ELIJAH hid,
By Ravens fed.
F
The Judgment made
Felix afraid.
G
As runs the Glaſs,
Our Life doth paſs
H
My Book and Heart
Muſt never part.
J
Job feels the Rod,
Yet bleſſes GOD.
K
Proud Korah's Troop
Was ſwallow'd up.
L
Lot fled to Zoar,
Saw fiery Shower
On Sodom pour.
M
Moſes was he
Who Iſrael's Hoſt
Led thro' the Sea.

Courtesy of The Free Library of Philadelphia.
From the A.S.W. Rosenbach Collection of Early American Children's Books

The New England Primer, a book studied by generations of children.

a town reached 100 families, it had to establish a grammar school to prepare youths for college. An ambitious youth thus could proceed through local dame schools which provided the rudiments; the grammar school; and, finally, to Harvard, or later Connecticut's Collegiate School–Yale. Very few made it all the way, and few even finished the grammar school.

The grammar school at New Haven founded under the bequest of Edward Hopkins seems to have been especially influential. Hopkins also provided a similar bequest to Hartford and it resulted in what was termed variously a "Grammar School," "Latin School" or "Free School."

In 1678 the legislature ordered every town of thirty (instead of fifty) families to provide a school to teach reading and writing. Despite such laws, the preamble to a 1690 law declared that there were still "many persons unable to read the English tongue." Moved by this unhappy situation the assembly ordered "free schooles" to be opened at Hartford and New Haven to instruct in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek. At the same time the assembly required the towns to maintain an elementary reading and writing school for six months yearly.

Later in 1700 the legislature required that grammar schools be operated at the four county seats–Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield. All other towns of seventy or more families were to support a reading and writing school the full year; smaller towns, for six months yearly. The colony assumed responsibility for school support to the extent of 40 shillings per £1,000 of the polls and estates. If this amount proved inadequate, a town could obtain private gifts, levy a town tax or charge the parents as it deemed fit.

In October 1712 the assembly made the society or parish, rather than the town, the unit for schools. Five years later it imposed on the parish the familiar pattern of a year-round (eleven months) school for seventy or more families; a six-months school for smaller parishes.

The last major colonial change, introduced in 1733, employed income from sale of western Connecticut lands to supplement other school revenues. This act in its wording clearly implies that some towns were seriously deficient in their schools. Perhaps this land in-

come influenced the decision in 1753 to reduce colony support from 40 shillings per £1,000 of assessment to 10 shillings.

In the late colonial period a few private academies appeared in Connecticut. One of the most influential was founded at Lebanon in 1744 by Jonathan Trumbull and twelve other local citizens. They hired Nathan Tisdale, a Harvard graduate, as schoolmaster in 1749, and for almost forty years he ran the school with distinction. At the start Latin scholars paid thirty-five shillings per quarter; reading scholars, thirty shillings. Trumbull sent his sons and daughters there, and the school attracted students even from the southern colonies and the West Indies.

The Reverend Eleazar Wheelock launched Connecticut's most unusual colonial school—one for training Indians as missionaries and teachers. In December 1743 a Mohegan named Samson Occum, recently converted in the Great Awakening, applied to Wheelock for schooling and was accepted. Wheelock instructed Occum for three years after which he worked effectively as a preacher among his tribe. Impressed by Occum's success, Wheelock decided to establish a school for training Indians as missionaries to their race. In 1754 the school opened with two Delaware Indians. The next year Joshua Moor, of Mansfield, gave a house and two acres of land in Lebanon (now Columbia) for the school which became known as Moor's Indian Charity School.

By 1763 Wheelock was instructing more than twenty young Indians—mostly Delawares and Mohawks. That year he petitioned the assembly for assistance. Impressed by the attempt to "promote christian knowledge and civility of manners among the Indian natives," the legislators commended the project and ordered a public collection—an action repeated in 1766. No public funds were ever voted however—an economy which may have caused the school's departure. Occum went to England in 1766; created a sensation with his preaching and personality; and raised a substantial sum of money. In 1770 Wheelock decided to move the school to Hanover, New Hampshire.

It is difficult to judge how generously the colony and local governments supported education. One obtains a very definite impression that most adults were literate and that the colony genuinely believed in education.

Yale Becomes an Important College

As one considers the frequent largesse bestowed upon Yale College one realizes that a strong commitment to higher education existed. In the 1701 act of incorporation for the Collegiate School, the assembly agreed to pay £120 in "countrey pay" yearly for its support. Later it exempted students from taxes and militia service, publicly commended the enterprise and urged contributions by the public.

As the years passed the legislature continued annual contributions of varying amounts and on several occasions voted them the income from the duty on import of rum. Whenever the college badly needed extra money to balance its budget, the rector would ask for a special appropriation and usually obtained it.

Present-day college students frequently complain about the heavy pressures of their life, yet few willingly would return to the regime at colonial Yale. The undergraduate's day began at sunrise or at six A.M. from March 10 to September 10 with morning prayers which featured reading of the Holy Bible and commentary by the rector. Then came breakfast for about half an hour. Classes occupied the remainder of the morning except for a brief break for sizings (bread and beer). Dinner, the day's largest meal, followed at noon. Students enjoyed ninety minutes of free time after dinner before they resumed classes in the afternoon. Evening prayers filled the hour from four to five P.M. Sometimes faculty efforts were supplemented by "analysis" of scripture by an older student. After supper students were free until 9 P.M. when there was a compulsory study period lasting until lights out at 11 P.M. Probably many students doused their candles in sheer exhaustion well before that hour! Even the "free" time scarcely was free for recreation as students were required to read the Scriptures daily and engage in secret prayer.

Students generally studied three major subjects and, in addition, had weekly disputations plus occasional declamations. Freshmen concentrated on Greek and Hebrew grammar plus a review of Latin. Late in the year they started logic. They were expected to be able to translate Biblical selections from English into Greek. Sophomores emphasized logic but continued languages, too. Juniors studied physics (natural philosophy) chiefly, while seniors spe-

cialized in mathematics and metaphysics. Both juniors and seniors continued some language and logic work. The three upper classes underwent daily recitations translating the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, mornings; and the New Testament out of English or Latin into Greek, evenings. On Fridays and Saturdays all classes labored over ethics, oratory, rhetoric and theology. Saturday mornings were reserved for recitations from Hooker's favorite book, Ames' *Medulla Theologiae*. As the European Enlightenment's influence spread, some of the scientific theory of Isaac Newton was introduced to students in the 1720's and 1730's. Because of interest in the Newtonian system President Clap and a tutor constructed the first colonial orrery, a crude instrument showing planets and the orbits of comets.

The normal course required four years for the B.A., plus three years for an M.A. One could also obtain the Master's degree in three years without residence by presenting a lengthy essay somewhat like a modern thesis. Interestingly, a requirement for both degrees was freedom from "Grose immoralities and scandals."

Student disturbances occurred fairly often at Yale. In 1721 an outbreak began with a food strike which Rector Timothy Cutler subdued. Even worse misbehavior followed—stealing of hens, geese, turkeys, pigs and wood; breaking windows; card playing; "Unseasonable Nightwalking;" cursing and using all kinds of "Ill language." Strenuous efforts by the rector and trustees largely failed to identify the culprits, but one student was suspended. Another student, Timothy Mix, received a one-year suspension for striking several other students, running away from school and fighting with a citizen of New Haven. Twelve months later, wiser and repentant, Mix confessed his errors, was readmitted and later graduated.

Changing Intellectual Outlook

The European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century exerted a great influence on English America. Especially significant were the ideas of Isaac Newton who substituted a natural for a supernatural explanation of our world. John Locke in his popular writings made it appear possible for men, by using their natural faculties, to bring their institutions into close harmony with the universal

order. Through application of reason the Enlightenment preached that mankind could eventually become completely enlightened.

English America's intellectual leaders—men like Benjamin Franklin, James Logan, John Adams, John Winthrop of Harvard and Cadwallader Colden—warmly accepted the Enlightenment, but quickly reshaped it into an American Enlightenment adapted to the American environment. Many clergymen, even in Connecticut, accepted the Enlightenment and became far more open-minded in meeting new ideas and problems. Although an intellectual backwater in many ways, Connecticut could not escape this movement. Yale became increasingly receptive to it, and Connecticut's contacts with such intellectual centers as Boston, New York and Philadelphia deepened its impact. The ideas of English political dissenters such as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon received wide approbation and helped provide the ideological base for growing resistance to Britain.

Care of Unfortunates

In common with other colonies Connecticut had not advanced very far in the care of society's unfortunates—the indigent, crippled, orphaned, mentally retarded and insane. While the number of such persons remained small, they still constituted a serious social problem. Given the Puritan proclivity to equate poverty with sin and to spend public funds meagerly for social welfare, the solution of such problems posed major difficulties.

The Code of 1650 dealt with only one class of unfortunates—the poor. It assigned to the General Court the task of deciding which town should support a poor person. In other words, poor relief was made a local responsibility—a principle retained throughout the colonial period. The towns, in turn, having limited financial resources, generally tried to force relatives to carry the load. If none was available, the town would be forced to pay for lodging and maintenance.

When the British government in 1680 sought information as to care of "poor, decayed and impotent persons," the official reply indicated that each town relieved its own poor and impotent. Few needed aid, the report added, because wages were high—and provisions cheap. As for beggars and vagabonds, the government did

not tolerate them, but bound them out to service. It constituted what today we would call a hardnosed policy on welfare.

Not until 1699 did Connecticut officially face the problems of the mental retardates and insane. Presumably, relatives largely had cared for such cases and the 1699 law still required that solution when possible. If responsible relatives were unavailable, however, the authorities next could draw on the estate of the "ideot," "distracted" or "non compos mentis" person, as they described such individuals. Lacking family or estate support, the town was forced to pay the costs. Connecticut largely modeled its act on one passed in Massachusetts in 1696.

A few years later in 1715 the assembly interpreted the degree of relationship required for support of retardates to include parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren. It would be a rare retardate who would not have one or more relatives liable for support!

In 1719 the assembly more clearly defined the powers of selectmen in managing the affairs and estates of poor or idle persons. They were even authorized to bind them out for service. Any person who felt aggrieved by the selectmen's management could appeal to the county court for relief.

Sometimes unusually distressing cases came to the assembly's attention. In 1755 Phineas Cook, a mariner, took Robert Cromwell, a "poor, helpless, decrepid boy" apprenticed to him, and literally abandoned him in a "helpless and suffering condition" on a remote shore of Long Island. Somebody found the forsaken boy and brought him to Greenwich where he obtained support from local people. The outraged assembly ordered Cook to pay the colony for all charges already incurred, including prosecution costs, and post bond of £500 for paying future expenses.

Cook remained true to character by absconding, apparently without paying his debts or posting bond, and his arrest was ordered. Meanwhile the assembly validated reimbursement to several persons who had provided support for Cromwell. The entire case suggests that the colony lacked any real policy in such matters but, if pressed in a specific case, would demonstrate a sense of compassion.

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IX The Puritan Becomes a Yankee

The Structure of Politics—Town Offices

Under the 1662 charter the colony enjoyed a remarkable degree of self-government. On the surface Connecticut's political life in the early eighteenth century appeared stable, conservative and democratic.

At the town level the voters annually elected numerous officials, including selectmen, treasurer, moderator, clerk, constables, grand jurymen, surveyors, fence viewers, haywards, tithingmen, collectors of rates and leather sealers. In 1730 Hartford elected sixty-two persons to fifteen positions. The most important position was selectman (called townsman earlier). In the intervals between town meetings the selectmen exercised the legislative and executive powers for the town. Their actions could be appealed to and revoked by the town meeting, but this rarely happened. Among many duties the selectmen provided care for the poor, maimed, feeble-minded and insane. Broadly speaking, they supervised and protected the town's morals. They particularly watched heavy drinkers, suspicious strangers, idlers and the like. They insured that every child learn to read and write and study his catechism. As towns grew in size the moral surveillance declined, but executive duties tended to increase. In the eighteenth century the legislature passed many broad enabling acts under which selectmen assumed new powers.

The relative importance of some town positions was changing. The constable, once a powerful town official, declined considerably as he lost his earlier power to collect town and colony taxes, and saw much law enforcement pass to the county sheriff. On the other hand, the town clerk assumed greater influence as the years passed. No one could make everyday town business move more smoothly than an efficient town clerk. Likewise, as towns increased in population, the treasurer's position involved greater responsibilities.

In 1702 voting requirements for town or county elections mandated a man to be an admitted inhabitant of legal age, a householder, a man "of sober Conversation" and owner of a freehold

estate rated at fifty shillings yearly. Such admitted inhabitants participated in town government and elected town officials.

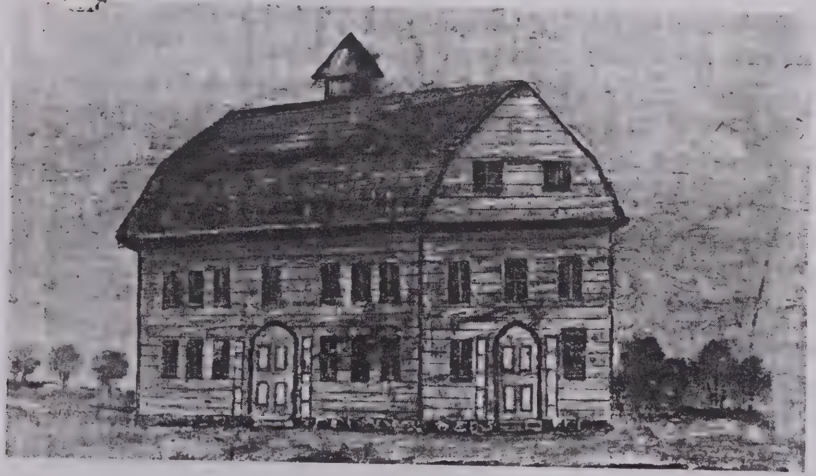
Structure of Politics—Colony Level

The upper house, or council, of the assembly was a highly prestigious body, which had remarkable stability in its membership. Each fall the freemen voted for twenty persons in a nominating election for the council. Numerous people received votes but only the twenty highest, including usually the incumbent governor and deputy governor, stood for election the following spring. Granted that the current incumbents were better known and listed first in the spring election, the longevity of service and infrequency of defeat was remarkable.

A study was made of the fourteen men (governor, deputy governor and twelve assistants) who comprised the upper house in 1740 to determine how long each man served there. The shortest period was 3 years; the longest, 41 (Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.); the average, 27 years; and the median, 26. After only three years of service Hezekiah Huntington was defeated in 1743, apparently due to his New Light views. He succeeded, however, in winning election to the lower house in 1744. Generally it appears that once elected an assistant one could count on re-election until death or voluntary retirement.

The typical assistant, as Jackson Turner Main has indicated, came from a prominent family, often with large landholdings, and usually had attended Yale College. Frequently he entered law, but sometimes business. He started in politics at the town level, moved up through election by his town as deputy in the assembly's lower house, and became a justice of the peace. If he had not acquired a judgeship before election to the upper house, he always did so eventually. Generally he was a Congregationalist, and frequently held a high militia rank. In the 1740 upper house *six* of the twelve assistants were judges and *ten* held the rank of major or higher in the militia. While the Connecticut upper house members probably did not compare in wealth with those of some colonies, and great wealth was not a requirement, they lived in very comfortable, and occasionally wealthy, circumstances.

In the lower house the pattern of tenure involved a high turn-



Courtesy of Connecticut Historical Society

The first statehouse in Hartford, built in 1719.

over. Taking the May 1740 session as a sample, of the 86 present only 30 (or 35 percent) attended the May session five years later. Two of the 1740 deputies had won election to the upper house. A study made by George Waller, a University of Connecticut history graduate student, revealed that during the decade of the 1740's the turnover of deputies averaged 41 percent *each* session—the same percentage as the 1760's. This turnover was somewhat less sweeping than appears at first glance since there was occasional repetition of the same surname in a particular town, which suggests that close kinship was involved.

To vote in colony elections for members of the General Assembly one must be a freeman. In 1702 the assembly established as requirements for freeman a forty-shillings-a-year freehold estate or forty-pound personal estate, and a certificate from local selectmen attesting "quiet and peaceable behaviour, and civil Conversation." A persistent troublemaker in a town probably could not secure the necessary certificate. As the final step, a candidate must swear to the freeman's oath before an assistant or justice of the peace. Apparently as the colony grew in size and population, the assembly found that it required too much time to screen and accept freemen

candidates. Hence in 1729 it turned over to the town government the admission of new freemen.

How many men were freemen? In 1766 Ezra Stiles estimated that only *one-ninth* the population rated as freemen. It is impossible to substantiate this, but even complete adult male franchise, if one judges by the 1774 census, would have meant only about *one-fifth* of the population.

Charles S. Grant's excellent study of Kent indicates that in 1745 some 76 percent of adult men qualified for freemanship; and in 1751, 79 percent. For the same years those who actually became freemen were 50 and 51 percent respectively! In further analysis Grant found that those who could have been freemen but did not, tended to be apathetic about local affairs and/or lived far away from the meetinghouse. Kent, therefore, had only about one-half the adult males as freemen, and another quarter or more could easily have qualified if they really had desired to vote in the colony elections.

In town meeting elections for local offices Grant found that from the 1720's on practically all adult males were permitted to vote. Study revealed that the top town offices were held by a small group or clique of the wealthy. These men seem to have attained their offices through shrewdness, drive and unusual leadership qualities. The clique constituted a permanent elite who pre-empted the important offices and conditioned the town's inhabitants to think as they did. With absentee landowners playing only a minor roll, the residents reveled in the opportunity to buy and sell land in Kent prior to 1760. Economic opportunity kept most men optimistic about their future and disinclined to challenge the ruling clique. Only after 1770 did overcrowding reduce wealth and lead to widespread emigration.

Political Elites Control Major Towns

In a recent in-depth study of the political power structure of the towns of Hartford, Norwich and Fairfield in the 1700-84 period, Bruce Daniels has conclusively demonstrated that a small elite group ruled. Their leaders came from the wealthiest class, and most of the top ten leaders from each town were descended from an original proprietor. Through much of the period a few families

d an amazingly high proportion of major offices within the town or as town representatives in the assembly. Frequent intermarriage among prominent families further cemented their power. From 1700 to 1760 in Hartford the Pitkin family stood out; in Norwich, the Huntingtons and Tracys; and in Fairfield, the Burr family. The Huntingtons and Pitkins prospered as large landowners and leading merchants, while the Burrs became great landholders through astute speculation. Neither the Great Awakening nor the American Revolution displaced or democratized this limited leadership. Although voting rights were widespread, the voters continually chose leaders from a small elite. Certainly these three towns, geographically scattered, suggest a deferential society. Common men deferred to the elite and seemed contented with their leadership, or at least were disinclined to displace it.

Daniels did not find it impossible for new men to penetrate the elitist leadership, but it was difficult unless one was relatively wealthy. The best occupations from which to advance seemed to be law or trade.

Hartford, Norwich and Fairfield were all old, populous port towns. Certainly similar studies should be made of a sample of later, inland hill towns to ascertain whether the same elitist political pattern prevailed.

Growing Diversity in Religion

The solidarity of the church-state alliance, supposedly cemented forever in the Saybrook Platform, provoked immediate opposition. The shocking conversion of Rector Timothy Cutler of Yale to Anglicanism in 1722 signaled the beginning of a new period of decline in congregational ministerial ability and authority. Both from within and without the Established Church faced increasing challenge.

In the 1730's Roger Wolcott, later to be governor, wrote a long powerful treatise on church government which vigorously denounced Connecticut's semi-Presbyterian church government and the consequent increase in clerical power at the expense of the congregation. He charged that ministers completely dominated the consociations created by the Saybrook Platform. This treatise, though never published, very much worried the ministry. Ministers nearly everywhere found themselves increasingly embroiled in multifarious controversies with members. In many cases bitter disputes erupted over the minister's salary, as numerous congregations failed to adjust salaries to the rapid rise in living costs. The duty of the minister to denounce offenders in church trials, also, often won him deep resentments.

The extraordinary economic expansion occurring in the early 1700's created many severe and prolonged controversies in public life which carried over into the churches. Differences over elections, lands and public issues in general produced factions which split churches as well. Repeatedly the minister was hopelessly caught in the middle of such disputes. Perhaps the most basic problem of all was a growing indifference to the church manifested in a widespread unconcern for the growth of vice and impiety.

Religious dissenters also slowly mounted a threat to the establishment. While a handful of Quakers alarmed Connecticut in the seventeenth century, it was not until 1731 in New Milford that nineteen people formally organized a Quaker meeting. The first indigenous dissenters were the Rogerenes—a small sect which gathered around John Rogers of New London in the 1670's. Persuaded by Seventh-day Baptists from Newport that the Bible did not ordain Sunday worship and infant baptism, the Rogerenes began disrupting Sunday Congregational services. The Rogerenes soon gained some converts and adopted pacifism and faith healing as tenets. More traditional Baptists first held meetings at Groton in 1705. In 1726 a congregation was organized in New London, and was followed later by ones in Saybrook, Lyme, Farmington and Wallingford.

Despite strong Puritan dislike and fear of the Anglican Church it was destined to make amazing progress in the early 1700's. It started in Connecticut through the work of missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In 1706 the Reverend George Muirson, S.P.G. missionary at Rye, traveled from Greenwich to Stratford; and returned to Stratford in 1707 when he preached with much success. The first Anglican church in Connecticut was built in Stratford where the Reverend Samuel Johnson conducted the initial service on Christmas day, 1724. The next year some Anglicans in Fairfield constructed a church. Johnson notified the S.P.G. that many Anglicans had been imprisoned

not paying taxes to support the Congregational Church. By 1734 New London, Redding and Newtown also claimed Anglican churches. The colorful and determined John Beach forsook Congregationalism in 1732 and shortly thereafter headed the Anglican church in Newtown. Thus by the 1730's the Anglicans had won a small but solid foothold in southwestern Connecticut.

A Great Awakening Stirs Connecticut

What caused a deep religious awakening to hit Connecticut so powerfully around 1740? In large part this awakening constituted a response to the declining state of religion in Connecticut. This situation had developed from numerous causes: (1) substantial economic gains with attendant materialism; (2) loss of the religious zeal of the founders; (3) lowering of religious standards implicit in the Half-Way Covenant; (4) deadening of religious interest caused by the Saybrook Platform; (5) distractions arising from the series of intercolonial wars; (6) energies increasingly sapped by political conflicts at town and provincial levels; (7) increasing strife within religious societies; and (8) general social disorganization, especially in the area of most rapid growth, the east.

By the 1720's it was obvious that the Established Church, rent by internal problems and increasingly challenged by Anglicans and Baptists, had lost considerable prestige. In 1724 the Reverend Solomon Stoddard preached a sermon on *The Defects of Preachers* which squarely charged Congregational pastors with the spiritual indifference of their congregations. He claimed that many ministers lacked saving grace and could not preach. As a solution he advocated appealing to emotion in preaching. Some pastors found his words persuasive, while others strongly denounced him. Broadly speaking, the protagonists emphasized *piety* as against *order*.

Gradually New England found itself caught up in a religious revival known as the Great Awakening. After a limited series of revivals in 1721, a much larger one, originating at Northampton in 1735, spread into Connecticut. It received a powerful impetus in the fall of 1740 when the renowned English evangelist, George Whitefield, visited New England. An extremely powerful and fluent preacher, he attracted huge crowds at his Connecticut stops and helped spark the Awakening. When he stopped at Middletown on very short notice in October 1740, a crowd of between 3,000 and 4,000 gathered to hear him. Farmer Nathan Cole and his wife of Kensington joined a great throng rushing frantically to hear Whitefield. Cole noted that every horse "seemed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear the news from heaven for the saving of their Souls." Cole himself was awakened by Whitefield's message.

Many men bowed down by a deep sense of guilt found in Whitefield a new hope. Reborn converts were told that by admitting and repudiating their sins they were no longer damned. Whitefield and other Awakening preachers emphasized that no amount of conformity to the established order—Sabbath observance, praying or obedience to the regular clergy—could earn one salvation. Without true inward grace one could not be saved. The crushing burden of fear of losing salvation and guilt imposed by Puritan rule had been too great for many. In Whitefield's words and those of his followers they found release from the old hopelessness and tensions and a rebirth of joy and hope.

The preaching of Whitefield and other itinerants carried many ministers and would-be ministers or exhorters into the revival or New Light camp. The more conservative Old Lights opposed the revival because of its disorderliness and challenge to the establishment.

The Great Awakening peaked in 1741-42 with a feverish excitement. As might be expected, the Old Lights, representing the political and religious establishment, struck back hard. They were particularly upset by the preaching of James Davenport, a Yale graduate who left his Long Island church to travel through Connecticut as an itinerant preacher. Many liked him, and his appearance in Stonington produced mass hysteria. Joshua Hempsted characterized his services as "Scarcely worth the hearing" and "all Meer Confused medley." While the Awakening affected all of the colony it seemed to find particularly fertile ground in the east. Among the most prominent Connecticut ministers of the New Light outlook were Joseph Bellamy, Benjamin Pomeroy, Eleazar Wheelock and Jedidiah Mills. As Edwin Gaustad, specialist on the Awakening, has insisted, the new movement was "great and general," and without limits as to geography or social class.

The establishment, in solid control of the assembly as well as

Photo by Richard D. Butterfield

First Church of Christ, Congregational, at Farmington (built 1771).

ministerial associations, reacted vigorously against the Awakening with new legislation in 1742. This law forbade even ordained ministers preaching outside their parish without invitation, restricted an association's power to license candidates to its own area and banned all unauthorized preaching by non-Connecticut residents on penalty of expulsion from Connecticut.

Furthermore, the assembly sought to make examples by arresting the two most feared itinerants—James Davenport and Benjamin Pomeroy. At Hartford a mob, apparently infuriated by the arrests, tried to free the prisoners. Authorities thought it necessary to employ forty militia as guards. While Pomeroy was freed, Davenport was found guilty as a mentally unbalanced person, marched between militia to the river and deported to Long Island!

While the Great Awakening quickly lost its peak enthusiasm of 1741-42, it produced some profound immediate and long-range results. It tended to occur in congregations where the minister already had been favorable to revivalism. In this case usually the New Lights triumphed, and sometimes a minority of conservatives then affiliated with the Anglican Church. In some cases, where the majority remained Old Light, a determined minority seceded and formed a Separate Church, as in Lyme, Mansfield, Middletown, New London and Norwich. Other minorities joined the Baptists. Certainly the Awakening wrought a strong spiritual quickening.

While deep schisms and violent conflicts marked the early stages, the intense persecution of the 1740's soon caused a swing toward more tolerance. The 1750 revision of laws dropped the anti-itineracy act, and in the 1750's the assembly exempted certain Separate societies from taxes imposed by the Established society. Eventually in 1770 the assembly exempted protestant dissenters attending their own church from penalties for nonattendance at the Established Church.

In the shifting uncertain standards of the 1750's the assembly found it necessary to enact a law aimed at preventing bribery and corruption in election of its members. The statute provided that any person offering or accepting a bribe or other reward be liable to a fine, while a member elected through bribery be ineligible to serve. The very existence of this law eloquently reflects the decline from early Puritan standards.

The law reflects, too, the sharper competition for political office. A Wallingford religious dispute in 1759 afforded New Lights a convenient issue to employ in trying to unseat Governor Fitch and seven conservative assistants. Ringleaders included Daniel Lyman, a New Light of New Haven, and William Williams of Lebanon, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence. A slate was prepared and advocates campaigned throughout the colony. Despite these vigorous efforts, Fitch and six of the seven assistants won re-election the following spring. Undiscouraged, the New Light group continued its efforts to oust Governor Fitch and other Old Lights. Though unsuccessful in the council, they rejoiced in a substantial increase in New Light deputies, especially from New London and Windham counties.

As a long-range result the Great Awakening reduced the church's power and enlarged that of individuals. Religious liberty was the accidental but great gainer. Gone was the authoritarian Puritan Church of the early generations which had provided almost unchallenged religious leadership, defined the bounds of social conduct and symbolized communal unity. In the Bible State church leaders had worked intimately with political leaders. By the 1760's the Established Church, although still attracting a majority, had been reduced to providing only religion. A steadily increasing number found their religious life in a minority church or belonged to no church. Congregational ministers no longer could order or threaten, but had to rely on persuasion.

Evasive Relations with the British Government

Through much of its colonial period Connecticut managed to escape close surveillance from London, perhaps in part because it was a small inconspicuous colony. After the great shock of Andros' unpopular rule, Connecticut leaders operated warily to avoid further grave threats. In the early 1700's there were several attempts to revoke the charter, but these became sidetracked in the maze of partisan politics in England. Connecticut leaders, above all, sought to maintain their charter unimpaired.

There was a fairly steady, though not heavy, flow of correspondence between London, especially the Board of Trade, and Connecticut, as the Connecticut archives reveal. It involved such topics as boundary disputes; pirates; rates for foreign co[illegible]; currency problems; periodic questionnaires about the colony, and its replies; occasional instructions to the governor and company; injunctions to obey and enforce trade acts, and cooperate with the Vice-Admiralty courts; and notices of major events involving Britain, such as deaths of monarchs and peace treaties. The correspondence reflects a constant but not intimate relationship.

Being a semi-independent *charter* colony gave Connecticut an important advantage over the typical *royal* colony, such as Massachusetts, New York and Virginia. In addition, Connecticut early resorted to the practice of hiring an agent to represent it in London. Fortunately in the period from 1693 to 1763 Connecticut had an able series of agents: Fitz-John Winthrop, Henry Ashurst, Jeremiah Dummer, Francis Wilks, Eliakim Palmer, Richard Partridge, Jared Ingersoll, Richard Jackson and Thomas Life. Dummer, for instance, strongly resisted attempts by London to force surrender of the charter. The assembly esteemed Jackson so highly that it voted him an expensive inscribed piece of silver in appreciation.

Most colonies were required automatically to submit all their laws to the King in council for confirmation, but Connecticut's charter did not require this. After the Board of Trade received authority in 1696 to examine colonial acts, it soon demanded a copy of Connecticut's laws. Only grudgingly and tardily did Connecticut respond.

Soon afterwards a major Connecticut act evoked strong English opposition. In October 1699 the assembly transformed into law the custom of earlier years on inheritances by ordering probate courts to distribute intestate property in this manner: one-third of personal estate to the wife, plus her dower right; the remainder equally to the children, except the eldest son received a double share.

This law's validity received a direct challenge in the celebrated case of *Winthrop v. Lechmere*. John Winthrop, a grandson of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., claiming the law unconstitutional, assumed the entire estate of his father who died intestate in 1717. He lost his case in Connecticut, but carried an appeal to London. As a result, in February 1727/28 the intestacy law was disallowed as contrary to British laws. If the decision had gone unchallenged, it

would have plunged the legal and economic systems of Connecticut into chaos. The colonial agents fought vigorously. Francis Fane, legal adviser to the Board of Trade, prepared a lengthy report which recommended confirmation of all lands previously settled, but advised new restrictions. Parliament failed to take action so Connecticut's practices continued.

In 1732-41 Fane completed for the Board of Trade the only broad review ever made of Connecticut's laws. He found that 75 of 387 acts deserved disallowance, but only 7 clearly violated English law. Although he thought that Connecticut's civil and judicial authorities exercised too much unchecked power, Parliament took no action.

Connecticut gained power because of the preoccupation of Parliament and the King with many problems which seemed far more pressing than those of one small colony among many American colonies. The series of major European wars between 1689 and 1763 particularly engrossed London's thoughts and energies. In these wars Connecticut played a loyal and honorable role. In peacetime, however, Connecticut's leaders followed a deliberate defensive policy of remaining inconspicuous in imperial matters, but resisting any attempt to weaken its charter rights. When the calm was broken, a properly respectful letter from the governor and the efforts of an enterprising agent in London usually would pacify officialdom until some new crisis elsewhere again diverted attention away from Connecticut. The colony benefited from the conflict between Whigs and Tories on one hand, and Parliament and Crown, on the other.

In summary, Connecticut's relations with Britain as of 1763 were neither close nor highly cordial, but a basic feeling of loyalty to Crown persisted. Under the policies of "salutary neglect" toward the colonies, practiced by Britain from 1721 to 1763, Connecticut almost entirely governed itself. Little wonder that an anonymous writer described the charter colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island as "Republicks under the Protection of Great Britain, rather than subject to it."

Connecticut shared in the pride engendered by the world-wide victories of Britain—ones to which it had made a substantial contribution. Unfortunately new centralizing policies for governing the vastly increased Empire would greatly exacerbate relations

between Britain and America. It was predictable that these se[illegible]s attempts by London to strengthen controls would precipitate strong American resistance. Such was the case in America and in Connecticut after passage of the Sugar Act in 1764 and the Stamp Act in 1765—a story pursued in the following volume.

Acute Economic Problems in the East

In the three decades after 1690 Connecticut enjoyed a population explosion during which twenty new towns were organized. From 1700 to 1730 population increased by 380 percent. In Litchfield County a surge of new settlers largely filled up the countryside.

The east, however, seemed to suffer most from the economic problems attendant upon unusually fast growth. Norwich typified this expansion when in 1756 it held first place in tax assessments; and second, in population. Encouraged by the large volume of business generated in the rapidly growing eastern towns, merchants desperately sought additional capital to expand their operations.

Two closely interwoven problems plagued the section—chronic shortage of hard money, and almost complete dependence on Boston and New York for most English imports. Typical cargoes shipped from Connecticut had to be used to pay for goods already purchased in those ports. How could eastern Connecticut break out of its economic bondage?

There was no easy or sure solution, but one group of businessmen thought they glimpsed a way out. They formed the New London Society United for Trade and Commerce—an organization designed to raise capital for direct transatlantic trade. This would eliminate the middlemen at Boston, Newport and New York, and their high charges. Impressed by this purpose, the assembly granted a charter in 1732. Within its first year the Society began issuing promissory notes to subscribers in return for mortgages—in the process becoming a land bank. Their notes circulated as money, and the funds acquired enabled the Society to build a ship and acquire a cargo.

Governor Joseph Talcott and many assemblymen expressed great concern over the issuance of the notes since the charter did not expressly authorize such action. In 1733 Society agents underwent an intensive questioning by the legislature which declared that

ir notes threatened to defraud "many honest people." As a result of the inquiry the assembly found the Society guilty of mismanagement and ordered its charter revoked.

Doubtless this peremptory action stemmed partly from the western mercantile interests who feared any great commercial expansion in the east, financed by cheap money. The quick demise of the New London company, however, accentuated the east's growing indebtedness. The assembly felt impelled in 1734 to authorize up to £15,000 in loans to assist the New London Society in repaying its creditors.

The tightness of hard money plagued Connecticut as it did most English mainland colonies to the end of the colonial period. For a brief period eastern Connecticut enjoyed a special advantage —cheap inflated Rhode Island currency circulated freely and was widely used in purchasing farm produce for shipping. Again western pressure was exerted to secure assembly action in 1752 prohibiting further use of Rhode Island bills as legal tender, unless earlier contracted for. Connecticut creditors generally welcomed Parliament's action in the Currency Act of 1751 outlawing land banks.

The Susquehannah Company Invades Pennsylvania

It is scarcely surprising that eastern interests, joined by some western friends, spearheaded a drive to establish Connecticut in northern Pennsylvania. Some ambitious citizens had noted that the clause in the 1662 charter setting Connecticut's western boundaries at the Pacific Ocean placed much of northern Pennsylvania within Connecticut. So in 1753 at Windham they organized the Susquehannah Company with the stated purposes of spreading Christianity and promoting their own "Temporal Interest" in that area. Afterward in 1754-55, under very dubious circumstances, a deed for land in the Susquehanna River area of Pennsylvania was secured from local Indians. Land speculators soon joined potential settlers in displaying enthusiasm for Susquehannah Company plans and eagerly purchased "rights" in the land. Prominent persons such as Eliphalet Dyer, Samuel Gray and Jedidiah Elderkin of Windham; Phineas Lyman of Suffield; John Franklin of Canaan; and George Wyllys of Hartford provided leadership, and the assembly gave encouragement.

Governor Roger Wolcott and his successor, Thomas ch, whose sons were deeply involved in the Company, gave noncommittal and evasive replies to the protests from Pennsylvania. In 1755 the Company, now numbering about 850 shareholders, petitioned the assembly to ask the Crown for a royal patent. This the assembly obligingly voted.

May not be so. Need to do more checking.

The progress of this company soon led to formation of a second group known as the Delaware Company. Under even more dubious auspices it secured from Indians a grant to land between the Delaware River and the Susquehannah purchase.

The outbreak of the French and Indian War slowed progress of these western land companies and not until 1760 was the first Connecticut settlement made by the Delaware Company at Coshecton, Pennsylvania. Formidable Indian opposition, added to that of Pennsylvania and Britain, delayed Susquehannah Company attempts at settlement for several years. In October 1763 an Indian attack wiped out a small Connecticut settlement—the first so-called Wyoming massacre.

The increasing difficulties of the Susquehannah Company with Indians, Pennsylvania and London encouraged its opponents within Connecticut. Jared Ingersoll severed relations and joined the opposition. Meanwhile Eliphalet Dyer, sent to England in 1763 to secure a charter for the Company, failed completely.

By 1763 the Susquehannah Company had won substantial support within Connecticut, especially in the east, and had secured a toe hold in Pennsylvania. In the process it had aroused formidable opposition among Indians; Sir William Johnson, the Crown's Indian agent; Pennsylvanians; and British officials. The further unfolding of this dramatic story is delineated in the succeeding volume.

A Land of Energetic Yankees

In the mid-eighteenth century did Connecticut remain "a land of steady habits?" If one judges by the writings of Richard Bushman and Oscar Zeichner, the answer is "No!" As we have seen, many unsteady habits had developed as serious disputes erupted over a variety of political, economic and religious issues. The Great Awakening, the rise of the Anglican Church, sectional conflict, currency woes and the Susquehannah problem all accelerated the

breakdown of the old unity. Very rapid population growth and the series of intercolonial wars further hastened social disorganization and disunity. The old politico-religious establishment was badly shaken, though far from destroyed.

In a recent book, *Peaceable Kingdoms,* Michael Zuckerman has argued strongly that the condition of communal unity, so apparent in early Massachusetts, continued throughout most of the eighteenth century. This interesting thesis has been sharply challenged for Massachusetts, and needs careful study for Connecticut. William F. Willingham has found an emphasis on communal harmony and consensus in Windham from 1755 to 1786. While one cannot question communal unity as a prime Puritan goal, voluminous court records and General Assembly proceedings present clear evidence of an impressive amount of serious internal conflict in eighteenth-century Connecticut.

The situation went much deeper than a matter of specific issues rending the fabric of society. The individual had changed from Puritan to Yankee. No longer did he feel a deep subservience to the ruling class or live tormented by guilt feelings. An attitude of fervent individual independence displayed itself on all fronts and Britain eventually would experience its sting. Avarice, shrewdness, aggressiveness and strong self-interest all marked the open drive for economic gain. The seventeenth-century Connecticut Puritan sought better living standards, but apologized for it. His counterpart of 1763 considered wealth a positive good for individual and state. If he had twinges of Puritan conscience remaining, and some did, he expiated his doubts through increased philanthropy.

This epochal transformation into the Connecticut Yankee brought many positive values to counterbalance the negative ones already cited. A relatively unfettered man, the Yankee could employ his talents more positively and effectively. All of his major institutions–government, church, school, business, agriculture, family and others–now could operate more freely and be more responsive to individual and community needs and desires. This situation produced both more contention and more creativity. When troubles with the Mother Country deepened, the new Yankee would prove a formidable opponent.

By 1763 Connecticut in most respects already had come a vast distance from the small, primitive Bible State of the 1630's. It had become a part of the mainstream in the new, rational western world which was bursting with new energies and new visions. Connecticut's people stood poised for their advance into an exciting future.

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Documents

The spelling is modernized except in the second selection.

The famous Code of 1650 as approved by the legislature of the River Colony brought together in compact form a fairly comprehensive collection of the principal laws. It seems almost certain that Roger Ludlow, the colony's only lawyer, prepared this Code. It would be difficult to find a much better reflection of Connecticut's Puritan society and its outlook. From the nearly four-score sections of the Code a few have been selected for presentation under the original title.

BURGLARY AND THEFT

Forasmuch as many persons of late years have been and are apt to be injurious to the goods and lives of others . . . it is therefore ordered by this Court . . . that if any person shall commit burglary by breaking into any dwelling house or shall rob any person in the field or highways, such a person . . . shall for the first offense be branded on the forehead with the letter "B." If he shall offend . . . the second time, he shall be branded as before and also be severely whipped. If he shall fall [into the same offense] the third time, he shall be put to death as incorrigible. If any person shall commit [such burglary or] rob in the fields or house on the Lord's day, besides the former punishments he shall for the first offense have one of his ears cut off, and for the second offense . . . he shall lose his other ear . . . and if he fall into the same offense the third time, he shall be put to death. [*Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, I, 513-14]

GAMING

Upon complaint of great disorder by the use of the game called shuffleboard in houses of common entertainment, whereby much precious time is spent unfruitfully and much waste of wine and beer occasioned, it is therefore ordered and enacted . . . that no person shall henceforth use the said game of shuffleboard in any such house . . . upon pain for every keeper of such house to forfeit for every

such offense twenty shillings, and for every person playing at the said game in such house to forfeit for every such offense five shillings. The like penalty shall be for playing in any place at any unlawful game. [p. 527]

MAGISTRATES

This Court being sensible of the great disorder growing in this Commonwealth through the contempts cast upon the Civil Authority, which [being] willing to prevent, do order and decree that whosoever shall henceforth openly or willingly defame any court of justice, or the sentences and proceedings of the same, or any of the magistrates or judges of any such court in respect of any act or sentence therein passed, and being thereof lawfully convicted in any General Court of magistrates shall be punished for the same by fine, imprisonment, disfranchisement or banishment as the quality and measure of the offense shall deserve. [pp. 539-40]

MARRIAGE

Forasmuch as many persons entangle themselves [by] rash and inconsiderate contracts for their future joining in marriage covenant to the great trouble and grief of themselves and their friends, for the preventing thereof it is ordered by the authority of this Court that whosoever intend to join themselves in marriage covenant shall cause their purpose of contract to be published in some public place and at some public meeting in the several towns where such persons dwell at the least eight days before they enter into such contract whereby they engage themselves each to the other, and that they shall forbear to join in marriage covenant at least eight days after the said contract.

And it is also ordered and declared that no person whatsoever, male or female, not being at his or her own disposal or that remaineth under the government of parents, masters, or guardians . . . shall either make or give entertainment to any motion or suit in way of marriage without the knowledge and consent of those they stand in such relation to, under the severe censure of the Court in case of delinquency [in] not attending this order; nor shall any third person or persons intermeddle . . . without the knowledge and

consent of those under whose government they are, under the same penalty. [p. 540]

PROFANE SWEARING

It is ordered . . . that if any person . . . shall swear rashly and vainly either by the holy name of God, or any other oath, and shall sinfully and wickedly curse any, he shall forfeit . . . for every such . . . offense ten shillings. And it shall be in the power of any magistrate . . . to call such persons before him, and upon just proof to pass a sentence and levy the said penalty. . . . And if such person be not able or shall utterly refuse to pay the aforesaid fine, he shall be committed to the stocks, there to continue not exceeding three hours and not less than one hour. [p. 547]

SCHOOLS

It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures . . . and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, it is therefore ordered . . . that every township within this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased [it] to the number of fifty householders shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read. The [teacher's] wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children or by the inhabitants in general. . . . And it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, [it] shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university. And if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay [a] fine of five pounds per annum to the nearest such school until [it performs] this order. [pp. 554-55]

Tombstone inscriptions reflect much about attitudes toward life and death. The very eminent usually rated a more elaborately carved stone with a longer inscription. These particular examples were copied originally from tombstones in Guilford, Madison, Milford

and New Haven and were printed in the *Papers Of The New Haven Colony Historical Society*, III, V and VI (New Haven, 1882, 1894, 1900).

In memory of
Mrs Eunice wife of
Capt William Davison
who departed this Life
May 15 1776. being 23
years & 10 days old.
See there, all pale and dead she lies
Forever flowing from my streaming eyes
Eunice is fled, the loveliest mind
Faith, sweetness, witt, together joined
Dwell faith & wit & sweetness there
O view the change and drop a tear.

Here lyes ye body of
Esther Farrand daught
of Mr Jonathan & Mrs
Abigail Farrand who
Died Decemr ye 15th 1757 aged 3 years
Beneath these clods my body lyes.
To cruel death a sacrifice
No age nor sex from death is free
O think of death then think of me.

HERE LYETH INTERRED THE
BODY OF COLL. ROBERT
TREAT ESR WHO FAITHFULLY
SERUD THIS COLONY IN THE
POST OF GOVERNOVR AND
DEPUTY GOVERNOVR NEAR
YE SPACE OF THIRTY YEARS
AND ATT YE AGE OF FOVR
SCORE AND EIGHT YEARS
EXCHANGED THIS LIFE
FOR A BETTER JULY 12
ANNO DOM: 1710.

Jonathan Son of
Mr Jonathan &
Mrs Lydia
Fowler
Died Novm 1. 1794
Aged 7 Days.
An Early branch
A morning flower
Cut down and
Withered in an hour

In Memory of Mrs
Deborah Relict of
Mr Ebenezer Hall
who died October
27th 1758 In her 83d yr.
Behold & see as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so must you be
Prepare for Death & follow me.

Ichabod Scranton
Father of Abraham Scranton
Was born Feb. 19 1717
He obtained a Captain's
Commission from King
George the 2nd and went
Into Canada during the
French War and Served
2 years returing home
Took the small pox at
Albany and died and was
Buried in Guilford
Dec 1760.

For the more distinguished sometimes a large, flat, table monument was provided. This is an example.

In MEMORY of
The Reverend and venerable
JONATHAN TODD, A M.
who was born at New Haven, March 20th 1713;
ordained pastor of the Church at
East Guilford Oct. 24th 1733;
and continued there in the ministry until his death.
He had a contemplative mind; read and thought much
was candid in his enquiries;
and in science, theology and history,
had a clear discernment and sound Judgment.
Singularly mild and amiable in his disposition;
clothed with humility and plainness;
Serene in all occurrences of life; a friend and patriot;
a most laborious and faithful minister,
guided by the sacred oracles:
eminent piety and resignation;
adorning Religeon which brings
Glory to God and salvation to men.
He died in faith Feby 24th 1791.
By his side lies interred his virtuous Consort,
Mrs. ELIZABETH TODD,
who died Decr 14th 1783. Æt. 73.

Joshua Hempsted (1678-1758) of New London wrote what was probably the most significant diary kept in colonial Connecticut. He enjoyed a remarkably varied career as farmer, surveyor, attorney, justice of the peace, judge of probate, house and ship carpenter, stonecutter, sailor, merchant, representative for New London in the General Assembly, executor of wills, overseer to widows, guardian to orphans, and militia officer. In his diary covering the years from 1711 to 1758 he recounted faithfully both the joys and the vicissitudes of everyday life.

Oct. 5, 1711 Fair. I gathered corn in Smith's lot and we husked the corn that grew in my lot at night. A very windy day and late in the night it rained a little.

Oct. 7, 1711 Mr. White preached in the forenoon and Mr. Hunting in the afternoon. The sad news came of a great fire in Boston. Burned from the Schoolhouse Lane to almost the head of the town dock both sides of the street. About 100 houses burnt and 8 or 9 persons lost.

Oct. 8, 1711 Fair. I killed a lamb in the morning and then about ten I went to work at the ship.

Sept. 25, 1712 I was on the grand jury all day. We indicted Daniel Guard for murder and Joseph Elderkin for counterfeiting a 20 shilling bill, that is, altering from a 2 shilling 6 pence bill to 20 shillings. He is fined £45 and a 6 months' imprisonment. We acquitted Wentworth and Hambleton for the same fact, and we acquitted old John Guard who was committed for murdering Will Whitear with his son Daniel, but only his son indicted.

Nov. 12, 1712 I was all day at the Court of Probate about Ebe[nezer] Hubbell's business. The Court ordered a distribution of Hubbell's estate to be made by Mr. Latimore, Mr. Green and Samuel Fosdick. Daniel Guard had his sentence which was to sit on the gallows with a halter about his neck and to be whipped 39 lashes and to stand committed till he pays the charge of his prosecution.

Nov. 21, 1712 In the forenoon I went to look [for] my horse and found him at S. Harris's. In the afternoon I went to see Daniel Guard remove his punishment. He was first to sit on the gallows 1 hour and then was whipped 39 lashes with a single codline at the signpost.

Sept. 25, 1713 Fair, cloudy. I was in town in the forenoon to see a man branded on the forehead for breaking open a house in Lebanon and stealing sundries, etc. I sent to William Starke by Moses Fish 29 shillings in bills. In the forenoon in town and in the afternoon gathering corn in Smith's lot and finished and got it in. Lydia Starr had fits.

Sept. 27, 1713 Misty. Mr. Adams absent. The Governor prayed and Mr. Denison did read and Robert, free Negro, and Hager, molatto, published [intent to marry].

May 23, 1721 Fair. I hired of Capt. James Babcock 114 sheep (their fleece on) and 108 lambs. I am to have them 5 year[s] and to give one shilling per annum rent and to pay annually on the 10th of June and to return them in the like good order as I received them. [There are] but 5 or 6 that are very old and 6 or 7 [have] very coarse wool. The rest likely sheep and well wooled.

Aug. 17, 1721 Some showers. I set out for Hartford. I got to Colchester about 9 o'clock. Lodged at Chamberlins. Expenses 1s.5d. not paid for want of change.

Aug. 18, 1721 Cloudy and showery. I got to Capt. Wells's to dinner. Expenses 9d and 2s. for tooth powder which I borrowed of Mrs. Wells for want of change. I could not get over for the flood. . . .

Aug. 19, 1721 Some showers. I got over to Rocky Hill for 2s.0d. and so to Hartford. Put out my mare to Barnerd's and lodged at Will Cadwell's. Stayed there till Monday.

Aug. 20, 1721 Fair and came away to Wethersfield and received my money for the wool £260¼ [and] about £17 15s. 0d. and £4 for pork.

Nov. 8, 1721 Fair. A Thanksgiving. Mr. Adams preached. James Beebe and Jane Plumbley published [intent to marry].

Nov. 9, 1721 Fair. I was at home most of the day. Toward night I went and pinned down some plank in Mr. Winthrop's bridge about 2 or 3 hours. Henry Joans [had] a child buried. Barnabas Tuthill sailed for Jamaica.

Nov. 12, 1721 Fair, cold. A sacramental day. Mr. Adams preached all day. John Moor, a daughter baptized Martha.

Nov. 13, 1721 Fair. A training day. The first and second Company in arms. I treated the Company with about 5 quarts of rum, etc.

Oct. 16, 1727 Fair. I set out for New Haven to the General Assembly in company with Judge Christophers and the sheriff and his man. We lodged at Buel's at Killingworth.

Oct. 17, 1727 Fair. We got to New Haven before night. I went to Mr. Gaskell's and we sent our horses to pasture.

Oct. 18, 1727 Fair, cold, windy. John Tongue's son George died. I went to the House of Deputies and entered and after a while the whole house waited on his Honor the Governor and the Deputy Governor and Council, and a great number of the clergy to proclaim the King George the Second. A great number of spectators. The troop and eight foot companies in arms–6 of New Haven and 2 from Milford. Major Eells disciplined the regiment. The sheriff on horseback made proclamation. Spoke every sentence after the secretary. Being done the whole concourse gave 3 huzzas and each company gave 3 distinct volleys and then 3 great guns were discharged. An ox was meanwhile roasted whole by the commission[ed] officers, which was distributed to the soldiers and a pipe of wine at the country charge and at night the courthouse, college, and several other houses besides the Rector's were illuminated. Bonfires and other signals of joy most of the night.

June 21, 1743 Cloudy. A small shower in the morning. Afterward fair. We began to mow. I was at court all day. Nathaniel Richards of Norwich, aged 50, was whipped 25 stripes and branded on the forehead with A on a hot iron and a halter put about his neck. Sarah Leffingwell, aged 50, had the same punishment except [she had] but 23 stripes. [*Diary of Joshua Hempstead* (New London, 1901), pp. 2-411, *passim*]

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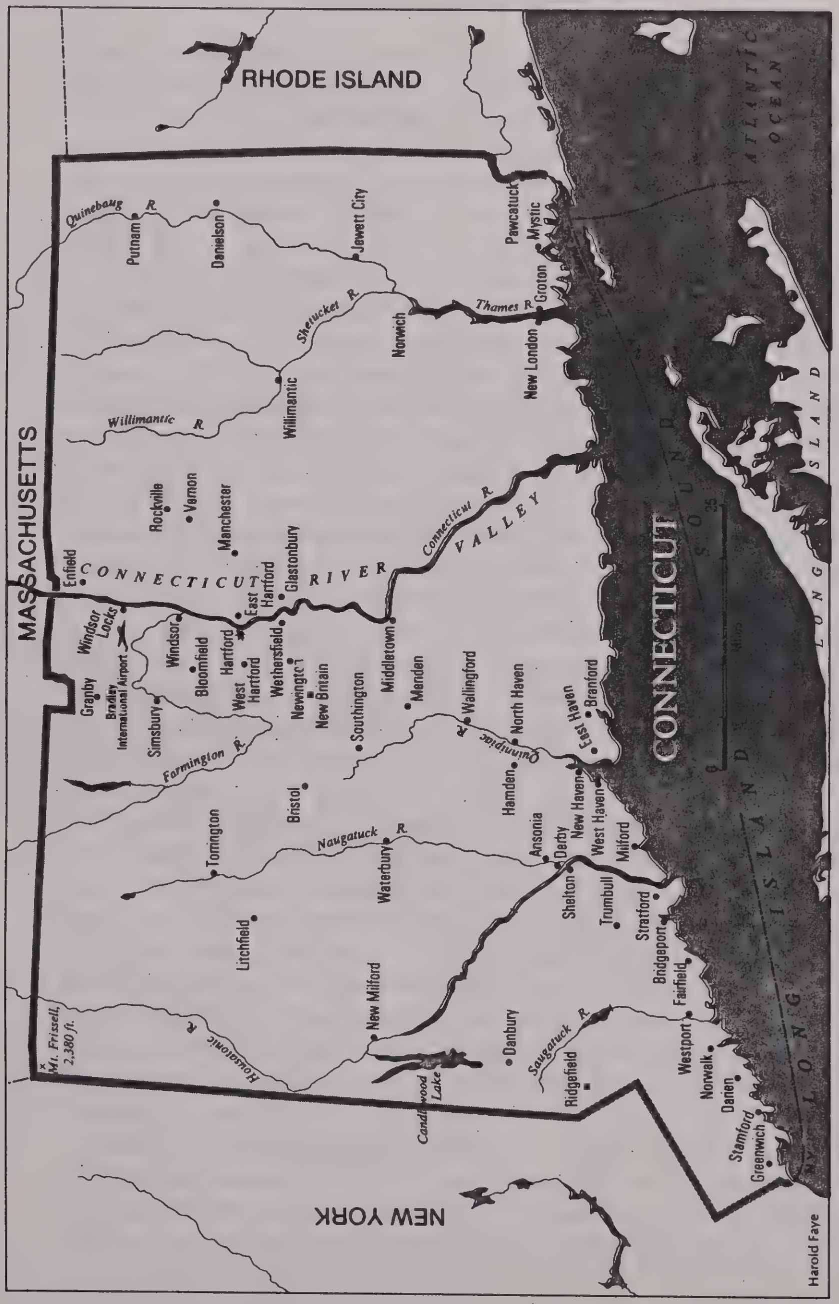
Invitation to the Reader

IN 1807, former President John Adams argued that a complete history of the American Revolution could not be written until the history of change in each state was known, because the principles of the Revolution were as various as the states that went through it. Two hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, the American nation has spread over a continent and beyond. The states have grown in number from thirteen to fifty. And democratic principles have been interpreted differently in every one of them.

We therefore invite you to consider that the history of your state may have more to do with the bicentennial review of the American Revolution than does the story of Bunker Hill or Valley Forge. The Revolution has continued as Americans extended liberty and democracy over a vast territory. John Adams was right: the states are part of that story, and the story is incomplete without an account of their diversity.

The Declaration of Independence stressed life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; accordingly, it shattered the notion of holding new territories in the subordinate status of colonies. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 set forth a procedure for new states to enter the Union on an equal footing with the old. The Federal Constitution shortly confirmed this novel means of building a nation out of equal states. The step-by-step process through which territories have achieved self-government and national representation is among the most important of the Founding Fathers' legacies.

The method of state-making reconciled the ancient conflict between liberty and empire, resulting in what Thomas Jefferson called an empire for liberty. The system has worked and remains unaltered, despite enormous changes that have taken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NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
Mt. Frissell, 2,380 ft.
Enfield
Granby
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Bradley International Airport
Simsbury
Windsor
Bloomfield
Hartford
West Hartford
East Hartford
Wethersfield
Newington
New Britain
Glastonbury
Rockville
Vernon
Manchester
Putnam
Danielson
Willimantic
Jewett City
Norwich
New London
Groton
Mystic
Pawcatuck
Torrington
Litchfield
Bristol
Southington
Middletown
Meriden
Waterbury
New Milford
Candlewood Lake
Danbury
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North Haven
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New Haven
West Haven
East Haven
Branford
Trumbull
Milford
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Bridgeport
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Norwalk
Darien
Stamford
Greenwich
CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY
Connecticut R.
Housatonic R.
Farmington R.
Naugatuck R.
Quinnipiac R.
Saugatuck R.
Willimantic R.
Quinebaug R.
Shetucket R.
Thames R.
LONG ISLAND SOUND
LONG ISLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
0 25
Miles
Harold Faye

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Because the format of the States and the Nation Series keeps scholarly paraphernalia to a minimum, the footnotes in this essay have generally been used only for direct quotations. They therefore do not reflect the heavy use I have made of a number of previously published studies in the field of Connecticut history. Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), was indispensable, providing me with a mine of information on a host of topics. Harold J. Bingham, *History of Connecticut* (4 volumes; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1962), was also of great help. My chapter on colonial Connecticut was greatly strengthened by material from Albert E. Van Dusen, *Puritans Against the Wilderness: Connecticut History to 1763* (Chester, Conn.: The Pequot Press, 1975), and from Charles McLean Andrews, *Connecticut's Place in Colonial History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1924). The chapter on Revolutionary Connecticut was taken in good part from the chapters I contributed to David M. Roth and Freeman Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution: Connecticut 1763 to 1818* (Chester, Conn.: The Pequot Press, 1975). My treatment of Connecticut in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries owes much to Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution;* Janice Law Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders: Connecticut 1818 to 1865* (Chester, Conn.: The Pequot Press, 1975); and Jarvis Means Morse, *A Neglected Period of Connecticut's History, 1818–1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1933). My survey of Connecticut during the era of the Civil War drew heavily from John Niven, *Connecticut for the Union: The Role of the State in the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965). The chapter on Connecticut from 1865 to 1914 reflects a great deal of material in Ruth O. M. Andersen, *From Yankee to American: Connecticut 1865 to 1914* (Chester, Conn.: The Pequot Press, 1975), and Frederick M. Heath, "Politics and Steady Habits: Issues and Elections in Connecticut, 1894–1914" (unpublished Ph.D.

place in the nation. The country's extent and variety now surpass anything the patriots of '76 could likely have imagined. The United States has changed from an agrarian republic into a highly industrial and urban democracy, from a fledgling nation into a major world power. As Oliver Wendell Holmes remarked in 1920, the creators of the nation could not have seen completely how it and its constitution and its states would develop. Any meaningful review in the bicentennial era must consider what the country has become, as well as what it was.

The new nation of equal states took as its motto *E Pluribus Unum*—"out of many, one." But just as many peoples have become Americans without complete loss of ethnic and cultural identities, so have the states retained differences of character. Some have been superficial, expressed in stereotyped images—big, boastful Texas, "sophisticated" New York, "hillbilly" Arkansas. Other differences have been more real, sometimes instructively, sometimes amusingly; democracy has embraced Huey Long's Louisiana, bilingual New Mexico, unicameral Nebraska, and a Texas that once taxed fortunetellers and spawned politicians called "Woodpecker Republicans" and "Skunk Democrats." Some differences have been profound, as when South Carolina secessionists led other states out of the Union in opposition to abolitionists in Massachusetts and Ohio. The result was a bitter Civil War.

The Revolution's first shots may have sounded in Lexington and Concord; but fights over what democracy should mean and who should have independence have erupted from Pennsylvania's Gettysburg to the "Bleeding Kansas" of John Brown, from the Alamo in Texas to the Indian battles at Montana's Little Bighorn. Utah Mormons have known the strain of isolation; Hawaiians at Pearl Harbor, the terror of attack; Georgians during Sherman's march, the sadness of defeat and devastation. Each state's experience differs instructively; each adds understanding to the whole.

The purpose of this series of books is to make that kind of understanding accessible, in a way that will last in value far beyond the bicentennial fireworks. The series offers a volume on every state, plus the District of Columbia—fifty-one, in all. Each book contains, besides the text, a view of the state through eyes other than the author's—a "photographer's essay," in which a skilled photographer presents his own personal perceptions of the state's contemporary flavor.

We have asked authors not for comprehensive chronicles, nor for research monographs or new data for scholars. Bibliographies and footnotes are minimal. We have asked each author for a summing up—interpretive, sensitive, thoughtful, individual, even personal—of what seems significant about his or her state's history. What distinguishes it? What has mattered about it, to its own people and to the rest of the nation? What has it come to now?

To interpret the states in all their variety, we have sought a variety of backgrounds in authors themselves and have encouraged variety in the approaches they take. They have in common only these things: historical knowledge, writing skill, and strong personal feelings about a particular state. Each has wide latitude for the use of the short space. And if each succeeds, it will be by offering you, in your capacity as a *citizen* of a state *and* of a nation, stimulating insights to test against your own.

James Morton Smith
General Editor

dissertation, Columbia University, 1965). I could not have dealt adequately with Connecticut in the decades since 1914 without Herbert F. Janick, Jr., *A Diverse People: Connecticut 1914 to the Present* (Chester, Conn.: The Pequot Press, 1975), and the essay on Connecticut in Neal R. Peirce, *The New England States: People, Politics and Power in the Six New England States* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976).

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And finally, words alone cannot express my appreciation of the loving encouragement I received from my wife Sandra and my daughter Deborah Anne.

D.M.R.

Connecticut

Introduction:

Historic Connecticut

Connecticut's history, measured by that of most states, is a long one. Moreover, the descendants of many of its original Puritan settlers still live here, and in their names—*Hale, Trumbull, Baldwin, Bulkeley*—the figure of Thomas Hooker still seems to cast a shadow. From the beginnings, caution and conservatism have shaped the Connecticut character and have made its nickname, "The Land of Steady Habits," truly descriptive of life here. Yet not everyone in Connecticut shares either that ancestry or that disposition. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, people of decidedly different backgrounds and outlooks joined the scions of old Puritans and Yankees to enrich—and to complicate—the state's history. The author, for one, came only recently; and accordingly, his family tree does not have its roots in Connecticut's Puritan past.

My mother (from Louisville, Kentucky) had roots in Ireland's County Galway, and my father (a New Yorker) traced his family's American beginnings to his parents' participation in the Eastern European rush to the United States at the turn of the century. These two treated their son to the sometimes bewildering but always fascinating experience of growing up in cities in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Delaware, Massachusetts, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and Tennessee. As for Connecticut, my wife and daughter and I came only seventeen years ago—when I was a young academic taking but his second full-time teaching job. I came to teach American history at

Eastern Connecticut State College in Willimantic, and we settled in Mansfield.

In the years since, Connecticut—especially rural, northeastern Connecticut—has had its effect on us. We never lock our car and often not our home. We think a traffic jam is when three cars are waiting at a stop sign, and we rarely—even my impatient, teenage Deborah—honk at the car in front of us no matter how odd the driver's performance. We have come to know the mountain laurel on Connecticut's hillsides, the blue and white violets in the lowlands, and meadows sprinkled with daisies and buttercups in June. Each autumn we are stunned again by the spectacular display that the state's foliage provides—the scarlets of the woodlands blending with the yellow of goldenrod and the flaming red of sumac. From December through March we wait for those winter nights after a snowfall when the sounds of man are muffled and the rest of the world is remote and almost forgotten. But most of all, we have come to appreciate the unending riches of the state's historical heritage. Whether one settles in the New York City bedroom communities of Fairfield County, in Yale-dominated New Haven, in the state capital of Hartford with its array of banks and insurance buildings, in one of the serene, colonial-rooted towns of Litchfield County, or—as we did—in rural, northeastern Connecticut (which airline pilots report is one of the relatively few dark spots at night on the East Coast between Boston and Washington, D.C.), one is constantly struck by ever-present reminders of Connecticut's long and unique history.

The towns of western Connecticut, the area between the Connecticut River and the border of New York State, abound with historic sites. In Guilford on Long Island Sound is the Henry Whitfield House, begun in 1639 and said to be the oldest stone house in the United States. Built in late medieval English style and furnished as it was in the seventeenth century, the Whitfield House spurs the visitor to remember that when Connecticut was first settled by Englishmen in the 1630s the only other English habitations in the howling North American wilderness were in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, and

Maryland. In Ansonia in the Naugatuck Valley one finds another seventeenth-century home—that of the Reverend Richard Mansfield. The good pastor tended his flock for over seventy years and in the process established a record of service that Connecticut clergymen then and since have regarded with awe and admiration.

Wethersfield—near Hartford—is a community that is distinguished as one of Connecticut's first towns: one which boasts a cluster of colonial homes including the Webb House, a twin-chimney, gambrel-roofed dwelling. In it General George Washington and the Count de Rochambeau met in 1781 to lay plans for the southern campaign that resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. The Glebe House in Woodbury in Litchfield County was the site of another historically important meeting—that in 1783 of ten Anglican clergymen who elected Dr. Samuel Seabury of Ledyard the first Episcopal bishop in the United States.

In East Granby, not far from Connecticut's major air terminal, is Old Newgate Prison. In the early 1770s the Connecticut authorities transformed an abandoned copper mine into what must have been one of the most uncomfortable penal institutions in all of American history. Newgate was used during and after the Revolution to house common criminals, and during the Revolutionary War it also held Tories and captured British troops. As one descends the old mine shaft and creeps along the dark tunnels, it seems that one can almost hear the groans and curses of Newgate's inmates—British and American—who suffered chains, rats, darkness, and a damp cold that must have numbed the soul as well as the body.

In Southbury in New Haven County is the Bullet Hill School. Built in 1778, the school is said to be one of the oldest preserved school buildings in the nation. In the Long Island Sound community of Stratford stands Christ Church, on the top of which is a weathercock that was used for target practice by British officers quartered in the town during the French and Indian War; in East Haven one comes upon the Old Stone Church, which has survived since 1774 despite having been

ransacked by the British during the Revolutionary War, hit by a tornado, and subjected to various architectural alterations through the years.

Perhaps one's sense of the state's rich past is most jogged in the western Connecticut cities of New Haven and Hartford. The historical and physical heart of New Haven is the Green, on and around which the city's three-hundred-year history has been acted out. Ringing the Green are three churches, each of which is central to the New Haven experience. Trinity Church (Episcopal), designed by Ithiel Town and built in 1815, is one of the oldest Gothic Revival Churches in the United States; Center Church (United Church of Christ) is a Georgian brick-and-wood building—the third that the congregation built on the Green—which, although built in 1812, has a crypt with 139 stones dating back to 1687; and the United Church (United Church of Christ), which was built in 1814 and remains one of the classic examples in the nation of Georgian colonial church architecture. A few blocks from the Green is the Grove Street Cemetery (1797), one of the first American cemeteries to be laid out in family plots and the resting place of such worthies as Noah Webster, Eli Whitney, and Samuel Morse. On New Haven's outskirts in West Rock Park is the "Judges' Cave," the hiding place in the Restoration Period of two judges —Edward Whalley and William Goffe—who were sought dead or alive by Charles II for their role in the arrest and execution of Charles I in the late 1640s.

But the center of historic New Haven is certainly Yale, founded in 1701, established in New Haven between 1717 and 1719, and after Harvard and William and Mary the third institution of higher education founded in the British colonies in North America. Located north and west of the New Haven Green, Yale consists of a combination of Georgian, Gothic, and "modern" buildings ranging from Connecticut Hall, built in 1752 and the residence of such distinguished Yale graduates as Nathan Hale, Eli Whitney, and Noah Webster, to modern buildings including the School of Art and Architecture designed by Paul Rudolph, Morse and Stiles colleges designed by Eero Saarinen, and Gordon Bunshaft's striking Beinecke

Rare Book and Manuscript Library. As one strolls through the campus it is impossible not to be struck by this awe-inspiring institution that has contributed such a wealth of talent and leadership to Connecticut, the American nation, and the world.

Although not possessing such an intellectually and physically inspiring institution as Yale, the state capital of Hartford boasts sites reflective of Connecticut's rich history. The state capitol, designed by Richard M. Upjohn and completed in 1879 at a cost of two and a half million dollars, is made of New England marble and granite and is topped by a twelve-sided dome finished with gold leaf. Throughout the capitol and its grounds are statues of such Connecticut heroes as Nathan Hale; Thomas Knowlton, the gentleman who commanded the Connecticut troops at the Battle of Bunker Hill and who died during the Battle of Harlem Heights in 1776; and Israel Putnam, who at the Battle of Bunker Hill while commanding the New England troops ordered: "Men, you are all marksmen—don't one of you fire until you see the white [*sic*] of their eyes." The capitol overlooks forty-one-acre Bushnell Park, laid out in 1853 by two Hartford gentlemen: Dr. Horace Bushnell, nineteenth-century Protestant leader who did much to liberalize Congregational thought, and Frederick Law Olmsted, designer of New York City's Central Park and the first landscape architect in the United States.

Across the street from the State Capitol is the Connecticut State Library, an Italian Renaissance structure built in 1910. The west wing of the building houses the Connecticut Supreme Court and the east wing—the Library proper—contains a half-million volumes, two million manuscripts, and a million pamphlets, microfilms, maps, pictures, and other memorabilia. The central wing of the building, Memorial Hall, is the state historical museum. Among the treasures of Memorial Hall are portraits of Connecticut's governors, a Gilbert Stuart painting of Washington, the table on which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, a collection of Colt firearms, the original Charter of 1662 that Charles II granted to Connecticut, and the Connecticut constitutions of 1818 and 1965.

Another important historic site in Hartford is the Old State

House, a Charles Bulfinch Federal-style building that served as the Connecticut capitol from 1796 to the 1870s when the Connecticut government sat in alternate years in New Haven and Hartford. Sessions of the constitutional conventions of 1818 and 1965 met in the Old State House, as did the Hartford Convention of 1814, a famous assemblage of disgruntled New England Federalists angry at the Madison Administration during the War of 1812. Also in Hartford—or its suburbs—are the homes of three Connecticut natives or residents who played a telling role in American cultural development: Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), a resident of Hartford from the 1870s to the 1890s; Litchfield's Harriet Beecher Stowe; and West Hartford's Noah Webster.

In eastern Connecticut, the area between the Connecticut River and the Rhode Island border, one also finds historic sites that pull one back into the past. In Marlborough in Hartford County stands an impressive 1740 tavern that had among its guests Presidents James Monroe and Andrew Jackson, and in Stafford in Tolland County are located springs of sulfur and ironwater that attracted John Adams in 1771. In the town of Enfield on the Connecticut–Massachusetts border, theologian Jonathan Edwards in 1741 sparked the religious revival known as The Great Awakening with a sermon entitled "Sinners in the Hands of An Angry God."

The eastern Connecticut community of Lebanon displays the 1735 home of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Connecticut's governor during the Revolutionary era. The Trumbull house, a large central-chimney residence, contains a second-floor study with a window placed high on the wall so that the governor, on whose head the British put a price during the Revolutionary War, would not be picked off by a British or Tory sniper. The town of Columbia, not far from Lebanon, was the original site of the educational institution that ultimately evolved into Dartmouth College. In 1755 the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock began Moor's Indian Charity School. When neither Columbia nor Connecticut proved terribly supportive of the school, Wheelock relocated the enterprise in Hanover, New Hampshire, with the aid of the Earl of Dartmouth.

In Lyme in New London County, towering on a hilltop, is a splendid castle built by actor William Gillette during World War I. The forty-two-room structure built of granite, fieldstone, and timber was designed to resemble a Rhine Valley castle. Close by in East Haddam is the restored Goodspeed Opera House. Built in the nineteenth century along the Connecticut River in a period when river steamboats were the rage, Goodspeed brings to mind the restrained elegance of a past age.

New London on the Thames River (pronounced in Connecticut Thaymes, not Tems), each June the scene of the Harvard–Yale regatta, boasts the Shaw Mansion, Captain Nathaniel Shaw's home, which served as the state's naval headquarters during the Revolutionary War; the Nathan Hale Schoolhouse in which the young Yale graduate taught from March 1774 to July 1775 before he joined Washington's forces and was subsequently hanged as a spy by the British in New York City; and a house at 325 Pequot Avenue in which Eugene O'Neill lived and wrote his first plays. Across the Thames from New London in Groton stands Fort Griswold, an American strongpoint attacked by the British on September 6, 1781, during a raid led by the turncoat Benedict Arnold—who himself was born but a few miles up the Thames in Norwich.

Nearby in North Stonington rises Lantern Hill, a 580-foot mass of rock on the top of which the locals burned barrels of tar during the War of 1812 to warn the countryside of the approach of British ships on Long Island Sound. In Stonington itself is Mystic Seaport, a forty-acre site devoted to the celebration of Connecticut's past ties to the sea. Coopers and sailmakers practice their crafts in period buildings and vessels such as the *Charles W. Morgan,* one of the last of the great American wooden whalers, remind one of the state's maritime heritage.

But the historic riches of Connecticut are not restricted to sites and landmarks. It sometimes appears that each of the state's 169 towns treasures a legend or a tale—some of which may even be rooted in fact—that reflects Connecticut's apparently inexhaustible historical lore. In Franklin in eastern

Connecticut one hears of the "Bloody Apple Tree." A Yankee peddler was murdered, his pack looted, and his body found under an apple tree on Michah Rood's farm. According to the tale, the dying peddler drew down a curse on his murderer, Michah Rood. Although no evidence was found which might have served as a basis for Rood's prosecution, the curse did its work. Rood's affairs deteriorated, he died a pauper, and the apple tree under which the peddler's body was found bore fruit whose pulp was stained with red spots.

A far less grisly tale is told in Windham in northeastern Connecticut. It seems that during the French and Indian War of 1756 to 1763—when all Americans were jumpy over Indian forays—a Windham farmer decided to drain his pond. By nightfall, the pond's frogs, left high and dry, began a thundering chorus of complaint that the townspeople took for the whoopings of Indians on the warpath. Men grabbed their muskets, hid away their women and children, and set out trembling to face the dreaded aboriginal enemy. Although everything soon quieted down when the Windhamites discovered the source of the noise, Connecticuters[1] ever since have taken great delight in telling of the quaking Windham farmers thrown into a tizzy by a chorus of bullfrogs. Indeed, as late as the nineteenth century one Connecticut author wrote: "Let a son of Windham penetrate to the uttermost part of the earth, he will find that the story of the frogfight preceeded him."[2]

The townspeople of Meriden in New Haven County take rather perverse pleasure in recounting the legend of the "Black Dog." It is said Meriden's "Hanging Hills," formed by two tilted lava flows, are haunted by a black dog. According to the legend one's first glimpse of the creature, who leaves no tracks in either snow or dirt and is possessed of a soundless howl, will always be followed by two more. The first view of the dog

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[1] While the word "Connecticuters" is not often used by the people of Connecticut to describe themselves, I shall use it in this volume because the use of phrases such as "the people of Connecticut" and "the residents of Connecticut" constitutes a nuisance, especially for the author.

[2] Quotation cited in William Bixby, *Connecticut: A New Guide* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 295.

will result in financial gain. However, the legend relates that things deteriorate badly from this point. A second meeting with the dog will bring illness; a third, death. For the sceptics: one hears in Meriden that several people who have seen the black dog have died mysteriously.

A much more pleasant tale revolves around "Bride's Brook" in East Lyme along the Connecticut shore. The story has it that in 1647 one Jonathan Rudd and his fiancée were awaiting the magistrate who was to marry them when a great blizzard struck. Apparently too eager for marriage to have the ceremony postponed, the couple appealed to Governor John Winthrop in nearby New London to come out to East Lyme and perform the ceremony. Although the good governor assented and made the journey to the restless couple, he was unable to cross a swollen brook in his path. As a result, Winthrop stood on one side of the brook and performed the ceremony while Rudd and his lady stood on the other side and said their vows.

Obviously, however, Connecticut is not alone in boasting a multitude of folk tales and an array of such historic places. Other states, especially in New England and elsewhere along the eastern seaboard, enjoy a rich folk tradition and the physical remains of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century life. I mention these manifestations of Connecticut's past for two reasons. First, because Connecticut is a place where a long past has meant much to its people, and where the traditions, habits, and faith that grew in its three centuries of history still matter to the way people live today. And second, because the richness of Connecticut's past has come to mean much to me. As an American colonial historian, I find Connecticut—with its history-laden atmosphere and its manuscript-filled historical depositories, like the Connecticut Historical Society, the Connecticut State Library, and Yale's Sterling and Beinecke Libraries—an invigorating environment in which to practice my craft. And as a man with decidedly itinerant beginnings, I draw more sustenance from Connecticut's roots than I am willing to admit—at least publicly.

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Economic Eminence

THE conservative character that so long marked Connecticut history is only one of the twin themes that together truly describe what the state has been and how it became what it is now. “Yankee inventiveness” is one of the great cliches of American history, but unlike some others (“southern laziness” or “frontier violence,” for example), it is one that demonstrates how fact occasionally can outdistance fiction. The people of Connecticut from colonial times onward have distinguished themselves as enthusiastic and talented purveyors to the nation of a variety of goods and services, and consequently contemporary Connecticut occupies an impressively high economic standing among the states of the American union.

As of the mid-1970s, Connecticut had the third-highest per-capita income in the nation (after Alaska and Illinois); the lowest percentage of poor people; the highest federal income tax payment; the highest percentage of homes with telephones; the second-highest assessed value of property per person; and the third-highest average of life insurance per family. Connecticut's impressive economic standing is all the more remarkable because the state's enviable statistics can hardly be explained on the basis of its physical endowments.

Take, as a prime example, the weather to which the state is subjected. It is true that the state has a good many clear, comfortable days in all of the four seasons. Moreover, Connecticut certainly does not have the number of 90-degree summer days experienced by most of the central and southern states, nor the consistently brutal winters of the central and northern Midwest. What Connecticut does have is a climate of remarkable changeability that includes some of the most taxing weather known to man.

Perhaps the best characterization of the New England weather of which Connecticut is an often reluctant recipient was given by Samuel Clemens on December 22, 1876, when he was the featured speaker at the seventy-first annual dinner of the New England Society. Clemens lived in Hartford from 1874 to 1891 (because his publisher was there) and there wrote *Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, The Prince and the Pauper*, and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. He demonstrated a rapidly learned understanding of his adopted region by speaking on “New England Weather.” He soothed his audience by references to New England's “bewitching” autumn foliage and to its unique ice storms, which left trees sparkling “cold and white, like the Shah of Persia's diamond plume.” He went to the heart of his subject when discussing the uncertainty of New England's weather, especially in the spring:

> There is a sumptuous variety about the New England weather that compels the stranger's admiration—and regret. The weather is always doing something there; always getting up new designs and trying them on the people to see how they will go. But it gets through more business in spring than in any other season. In the spring I have counted one hundred and thirty-six kinds of weather inside of four and twenty hours. . . . You take up the paper and observe how crisply and confidently [the weatherman] checks off what today's weather is going to be on the Pacific, down South, in the Middle States, in the Wisconsin region. See him sail along in the joy and pride of his power till he gets to New England, and then see his tail drop. *He* doesn't know what the weather is going to be in New England. Well, he mulls over it, and by and by he gets out something about like this: Probable northeast to southwest winds, varying to the southward and westward and eastward, and points between, high and low barometer swapping around from place to place; probable areas of rain, snow, hail, and drought, succeeded or preceded by earthquakes, with thunder and lightning.

> . . . Yes, one of the brightest gems in the New England weather is the dazzling uncertainty of it. There is only one thing certain about it: you are certain there is going to be plenty of it—a perfect grand review; but you can never tell which end of the procession is going to move first.[1]

Clemens could afford to make light of that notorious New England climate perhaps because he made his weather observations from behind the sturdy brick walls of his Farmington Avenue mansion, a wonder of turrets, balconies, verandas, and embrasures in which even in the dead of winter one could enjoy a fountain playing amidst calla lilies and flowering vines; but most residents of Connecticut—before and since Clemens's time—would hardly affect such humor in the face of the weather shenanigans to which the state is subjected.

Tropical storms have been but one of the weather features that have tested Connecticut. Hurricanes, originating as far north as Cape Hatteras but usually generated in the Caribbean, have provided remarkable demonstrations of nature's fury. On August 23, 1683, a hurricane ripped through the colony "blasting all the trees" and raising the Connecticut River twenty-six feet above normal. No less potent was the "New London Hurricane" of August 30, 1713, "a violent storm of wind and rain . . . which blew down several buildings and fruit trees such as hath not been known." The weather diary for October 20, 1770, of the Reverend Ezra Stiles (who would serve as the president of Yale from 1778 to 1783) recorded: "A violent hurricane. Wind N or NE. Rain violent—hail—vane of church steeple blown off." [2] Nineteenth-century Connecticut experienced its share of havoc-bringing hurricanes, but those of 1856 and 1893 were perhaps the most memorable. August 21, 1856, brought the "Charter Oak Storm," so named because Hartford's Charter Oak—in which, legend has it, the Connecticut Charter of 1662 was hidden in 1687 when demanded by Sir Edmund Andros representing the Dominion

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[1] Quoted in David Ludlum, *The Country Journal New England Weather Book* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), pp. viii–ix.

[2] Quotations cited in Ludlum, *New England Weather Book*, p. 121, p. 41, p. 41.

of New England—snapped off six feet from the ground after standing for three hundred years. The storm of August 24, 1893, was an exceptionally potent one, leveling hundreds of elm trees in New Haven and seriously damaging the tobacco crop in the Connecticut Valley.

Connecticut's hurricanes of the twentieth century, however, have made the previous storms seem rather insignificant. Carol in 1954, Diane in 1955, and Donna in 1960 all left their mark on the state, but *the* hurricane in Connecticut history was that of September 21, 1938. The storm, called "the greatest single event in the meteorological history" of New England,[3] ripped into Connecticut about ten miles west of New Haven and followed the Connecticut Valley northward. The death toll in Connecticut was eighty-five, property loss more than $125 million. The region suffered over six hundred deaths and property damage of almost $400 million.

As memorable and often as destructive as Connecticut's tropical storms have been its brutal winters, which have brought bitter cold and awesome snowfalls. The hardest winter of the seventeenth century was said to be that of 1697–1698. Connecticut was hit by snowstorms from November 20 to April 9 and one observer considered it "the terriblest winter for continuance of frost and snow, and extremity of cold, that was ever known." [4]

That the winter of 1697–1698 was no fluke was proven by Connecticut's experience in the eighteenth century. In 1717 Connecticut was hit by what has been called New England's most legendary storm. The "Great Snow" of that year consisted of four storms between February 27 and March 7 that deposited between three and five feet of snow throughout the region. The winter of 1740–1741 was considered by some more severe than that of 1697–1698 and left central Connecticut buried under three feet of snow. Troops in Connecticut during the Revolutionary War were immobilized in the winter of 1780 when the snow in southern Connecticut was measured

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[3] Ludlum, *New England Weather Book*, p. 42.

[4] Quoted in Ludlum, *New England Weather Book*, p. 121.

at forty-two inches on level ground. Perhaps no other winter snow in eighteenth-century Connecticut was so spectacular as that of early December 1786. At Hamden, near New Haven, five inches fell on December 4–5; nine inches on December 7–8; and eight inches with sleet on December 9–10. Following the snow and sleet, the temperature fell to twelve below zero, leaving the state paralyzed under an unyielding covering of snow and ice.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Connecticut has experienced little relief from winter's frozen displays. There was, for example, the "Cold Friday" of January 19, 1810, when the temperature in the early morning hours dropped from a balmy 41 degrees to a deadly −13 degrees. The first week of January 1835 brought bitter cold to New England, and by January 5 thermometers had plunged to 27 below zero in Hartford. But the most stunning winter phenomenon in nineteenth-century Connecticut was the "Blizzard of '88." Unparalleled in the records of modern New England snowstorms, the storm of March 11–14, 1888, brought a monumental snowfall, gale-force winds, and near-zero cold. The snow, accumulating on the ground at the rate of an inch per hour, fell for more than forty-eight hours, leaving New Haven with forty-six inches and Middletown with fifty inches.

Connecticut's twentieth-century winter annals have been marked by bitter cold weather in December–January, 1917–1918; February 1934; and February 1943, when a night of radiational cooling plunged thermometers to nine below zero in New Haven. Connecticut winters have not lost their kick in the contemporary period, as demonstrated by an awesome ice storm in December 1973. Freezing precipitation for over thirty-six hours slicked over roads, tree branches, and power and telephone lines. As utility lines collapsed under the weight of ice up to one half inch thick, hundreds of thousands of homes were left for almost a week without heat, electricity, and telephone service. The Connecticut Light and Power Company reported 145,000 customers without power, and the Hartford Electric Company had 103,000 customers in the same plight. The Southern New England Telephone Company was swamped with calls for service. It was estimated that the damage to trees

was greater than that which occurred during the hurricane of 1938.

Nature, as if to compensate Connecticut for its winter discomfort, has also provided the state with stifling summer heat. The Reverend Ezra Stiles had just set up his thermometer in New Haven in June 1778 when the temperature on successive days stood at 94°, 97°, 95°, and 94°.[5] Other enervating stretches of 90°-plus days were recorded in Connecticut in July 1825, July 1911, June 1925, August 1948, and July 1955. The hottest day known in Connecticut's history took place on August 2, 1975. A northwest wind carried across New England a furiously hot air mass that raised temperatures near Hartford to between 105° and 107°.

As Samuel Clemens intimated in his delightful characterization, a chronicle of Connecticut's weather that mentions only slashing hurricanes, numbing winters, and torrid summers would hardly be giving the state its meteorological due. An adequate survey would have to include some truly extraordinary phenomena—such as the oft-recounted "Dark Day" of May 19, 1780. Ezra Stiles recorded:

> there fell . . . a singular and very remarkable Darkness, which overspread the Hemisphere for about five hours. In the morning were showers attended by distant Thunder. About Ten o'clock A.M. a Darkness came on, which by Eleven was perceived to be very unusual and extraordinary, and in half an hour was considered as what was never before seen in these Northern Climates in America. The Darkness became and continued so intense from a little before noon to near Two o'clock, as that persons could not read, and it became necessary to light candles. . . . A little after Two P.M. it became somewhat lighter, but the Darkness soon returned. About Three o'clock it began to go off, and at Four P.M. the Heavens resumed their usual Light as in a cloudy day, although the cloudiness continued all the rest of the Afternoon.[6]

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[5] This was the notorious heat wave during which the Battle of Monmouth was fought on June 28, 1778, in New Jersey.

[6] Quoted in Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3 volumes (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1901), 2:424–425.

Eighteenth-century Connecticuters, who were terrified by their darkness at noon and quite understandably feared that the end of the world was at hand, did not have the benefit of the analysis of modern meteorologists who have concluded that the legendary "Dark Day" was the result of smoke from western forest fires obscuring the sun's rays.

Although there has perhaps been nothing in Connecticut's meteorological history to rival the mystery of the "Dark Day," there have been other indications of the state's unique weather. Take, for example, the "Wallingford Tornado" of August 1878: a powerful tornado—a rarity in the Northeast—ripped through the north side of Wallingford, near New Haven, destroying a church, killing thirty-four, injuring over one hundred, and causing damage of $200,000. Drought conditions have periodically plagued Connecticut since the colonial period. Particularly severe droughts—causing fires among field crops and woodlands—hit Connecticut in 1749 and 1762, and in the twentieth century the state was hard hit in 1929–1933, the early 1940s, 1948–1950, and 1956–1957. The worst drought in modern Connecticut took place from 1963 to 1966, when the crop yield was seriously hurt, the forest-fire hazard was high, and water for human and industrial use was so scarce that it was rationed.

No catalog of Connecticut's unique weather events would be complete without the flood of 1936. Through the winter of 1935–1936 the state was held fast by a coating of snow and ice. Then, between March 9 and 22, the state experienced rising temperatures and a series of downpours. Melting snow, thawing ice, and rainwater were too much for ice-jammed waterways to take. Dams were smashed, bridges battered and demolished, factories destroyed, and highways and railroads cut by rampaging water. Hartford, on the Connecticut River, had water almost nine feet higher than at any time in the city's three-hundred-year history, and the downtown commercial area was inundated. Damage from the flooding was estimated at over $100 million throughout New England, although loss of life was small because of early warnings.

Such weather as I have described—and in some instances suffered through—has obviously not been a feature of Connecticut life that has contributed to the state's prosperity. Yet it must be pointed out that Connecticut's weather is an important element in the social life of the state's population. In offices, factories, schools—wherever people congregate—a Connecticuter will invariably begin a conversation with: "Well, how do you like this for weather?" But all of this bantering about the weather hides a quiet pride the Connecticuter has in his ability to withstand the worst of weather. "The Yankee's survival in his isolated war against the elements has . . . given him his special tight-lipped and proud aloofness; he feels slightly superior to people who have not been toughened by such a rigorous exposure." [7]

Nor has Connecticut been blessed—by nature or man—with respect to its size. It is a small state. From east to west it extends but ninety-five miles, from north to south about sixty miles. Its area of 5,009 square miles—bounded on the north by Massachusetts, on the east by Rhode Island, on the south by Long Island Sound, and on the west by New York—makes Connecticut the third-smallest state in the Union, just ahead of Rhode Island and Delaware. Indeed, Connecticut could be placed in Texas some fifty-three times. Moreover, all its land borders have been sources of contention with its neighbors.

Connecticut and Massachusetts were at odds over their border for some 185 years. The two colonies attempted unsuccessfully to resolve the issue in 1642, 1649, 1695, 1702, 1713, 1716, and 1724. By the 1740s the principal point of contention was whether the towns of Woodstock, Suffield, Enfield, and Somers were to be under the jurisdiction of Connecticut or Massachusetts. Disliking the higher taxes of Massachusetts, the four towns in 1724 and 1747 petitioned Connecticut for admission. The Connecticut General Assembly appointed a committee of distinguished statesmen to meet with representatives of Massachusetts to resolve the matter. But Massachusetts, probably recognizing that it had nothing to look forward to from talks with Connecticut but the possible loss of

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[7] Joe McCarthy, *New England* (New York: Time Incorporated, 1967), p. 11.

the four towns, refused to negotiate. Finally in 1749 the Assembly voted to accept the four towns and once again gave Massachusetts the opportunity to negotiate. The Bay State continued its objections until 1800, when it ceased to complain of Connecticut's incorporation of the four border communities. Peace officially came to the Connecticut–Massachusetts border in 1827 when the claims of Southwick, Massachusetts, to parts of Granby and Suffield were adjusted and minor changes were made on the boundary to the east.

Colonial Connecticut experienced more serious boundary difficulties with Rhode Island. The root of the problem was the Charter of 1662 granted to Connecticut by Charles II, which provided for an eastern boundary at "the Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea"—thus ceding to Connecticut nearly all of Rhode Island. John Winthrop, Jr., who had secured the charter, shared with his fellow Connecticuters a hearty dislike for non-Puritan Rhode Island and thus agreed with a Rhode Island representative that the boundary between the two colonies would in fact be at the Pawcatuck River. Various attempts in the 1660s and 1670s to nail down the border came to nothing. The issue flared in the 1680s when Rhode Island arrested Stephen Richardson, a Connecticut constable who was exercising his authority in Westerly. Connecticut in turn seized one Joseph Clarke, a Rhode Islander, in Westerly. Through the next forty years English commissioners, the royal governor of the Dominion of New England, and the Earl of Bellomont of New York all failed to bring the disputants successfully to the conference table. Finally in 1720 the British Board of Trade, disgusted at the Connecticut–Rhode Island contention, recommended that both colonies lose their charters and be annexed to New Hampshire. Such a shocking prospect apparently cooled both parties, and ultimately in 1742 Connecticut and Rhode Island accepted the Pawcatuck as their common border.

Connecticut's most serious boundary dispute involved New York. When the English took New Netherland from the Dutch in the 1660s, Charles II granted the newly acquired colony of New York to his brother James, Duke of York, and included the land from the Connecticut River to Delaware Bay. This arrangement would have left Connecticut only a narrow strip of land east of the Connecticut River. In May 1675 Sir Edmund Andros, the royal governor of New York, demanded Connecticut's concession of the land west of the Connecticut River, and the following July he appeared at Saybrook to reinforce his claim. When Captain Thomas Bull and two companies of the Connecticut Militia contested his claim, the governor withdrew. By 1683, when Thomas Dongan was New York's governor, an agreement was worked out between New York and Connecticut that set the boundary twenty miles east of and parallel to the Hudson River. Controversy continued nonetheless over the exact placement of the boundary, and not until 1881 did New York, Connecticut, and Congress settle on a line between Connecticut and the Empire State.

Although Connecticut settled its boundary disputes with little damage to itself, the state was left with a relatively small amount of land—and, more important, land that has little potential for economic exploitation.

The state's economic success has certainly not been determined by mineral wealth. While Connecticut has had garnet and iron mines in Roxbury; nickel mines in Litchfield; iron mines at Salisbury; copper mines at Granby, Bristol, and Cheshire; brownstone works at Portland; and granite quarries at Roxbury, such enterprises have never played a decisive role in the state's economy. Currently, Connecticut's mineral resources are limited to lime and silica used to make low-grade glass.

Nor has Connecticut been blessed with a substantial amount of fertile farmland. It is ironic that the first English settlers in Connecticut in the 1630s were lured by the rich bottomland of the Connecticut River Valley, for land so fertile is not common in the state. Adjacent to Connecticut's central lowland, of which the Connecticut and Housatonic river valleys are a part, are the western and eastern highlands. These ranges of north–south hills—rising 1,300 feet in northeastern Connecticut and 2,380 feet on Mount Frissel in Salisbury in northwestern Connecticut—provide lovely scenery; but the rugged, heavily forested land with thin soils, strewn with stones and boulders, has never proven very useful for tillage.

Connecticut's paucity of fertile farmland presented no great

problems in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Connecticut's small population managed very well with the land available. Farmers grew corn, rye, oats, barley, and the vegetables that constituted an important part of the colonial diet: beans, peas, squash, turnips, and pumpkins. Wethersfield specialized in onions, and settlers in the Connecticut River Valley were well on their way to becoming noted cultivators of tobacco. About 1750 a good many Connecticuters shifted from tillage to the raising of livestock in order to satisfy expanding markets in the West Indies and mainland colonies.

In the last half of the eighteenth century, however, Connecticut began to experience problems because of its scanty agricultural resources. The population rose from 130,000 in 1756 to over 250,000 in 1800. Large families constituted the principal factor in the state's population growth. "Travelers passing houses frequently noticed ten or twelve little heads peeping out of doors and windows. According to some writers, eight to twenty children to a family were not uncommon." [8] The resultant division of the state's better farmland among numerous heirs brought a falling standard of living, for it is a basic economic maxim that: "As more labor is applied to the same area of land, the soil cultivated tends to yield less." [9] In addition, more and more people were forced onto the rugged and hilly land of northwestern and northeastern Connecticut, and the cultivation of this marginal or submarginal land added little to the state's agricultural viability.

As late-eighteenth-century Connecticut was confronted with inadequate fertile land for an expanding population, it also became evident that despite the efforts of agricultural reformers such as Killingworth's Jared Eliot (1685–1763), Connecticut's colonial agricultural practices had left a good portion of the state's soil exhausted and of little use. As Timothy Dwight described the situation:

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[8] Albert Laverne Olson, *Agricultural Economy and the Population in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut*. Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut, Pamphlet Number 40 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 18.

[9] Quoted in Olson, *Agricultural Economy*, p. 26.

> The husbandry of New-England is far inferior to that of Great Britain. . . . The principal defects in our husbandry . . . are a deficiency in the quantity of labor, necessary to prepare the ground for seed; insufficient manuring; the want of a good rotation of crops; and slovenliness in cleaning the ground. The soil is not sufficiently pulverized; nor sufficiently manured. We are generally ignorant of what crops will best succeed each other; and our fields are covered with a rank growth of weeds.[10]

Repercussions from Connecticut's dismal agricultural situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century were many. Thousands of Connecticuters, unable to afford good farmland and incapable of supporting their families on the hilly terrain of the western, northern, and eastern portions of the state, quit the game altogether and participated in a mass migration from Connecticut. Those who stayed on the land in Connecticut fought the soil for a living but were hard pressed to compete with the products of western virgin lands, particularly during the era of rapid expansion of canals, railroads, and highways throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Statistics for the period since World War II reveal the relative insignificance of agriculture in the state's contemporary economic framework. Connecticut farms decreased from 22,241 in 1945 to some 4,490 in 1969; and although Connecticut's gross state product in the early 1970s was over $20 billion, farm sales were only $200 million—based generally on poultry and dairy products and the tobacco production of the Connecticut River Valley, which accounts currently for wrappers for about ninety percent of the eight billion cigars smoked each year in the United States.

The most significant repercussion of Connecticut's paucity of fertile farmland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a recognition that Connecticuters would have to effect economic diversification if the state were not to become a wasteland. Of course the thrust toward diversification did not begin all at once at the turn of the nineteenth century. From the beginning of the colony Connecticuters turned to a variety of pursuits with great flair and success.

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[10] Quotation cited in Albert Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 112.

Trade began when farmers with a surplus exchanged their stock or grain with shopkeepers and sea captains for a variety of goods: lace, salt and pepper, sugar, paper, pots and pans, needles, knives, thimbles, buckles, tea, buttons, spectacles, combs, and cord. By the eighteenth century, when farmers were regularly producing a surplus, the colony had spawned a host of merchants who traded Connecticut beef, pork, hay, oats, bread, hoops, and staves in Boston, Providence, Newport, New York, Halifax, Salem, Nantucket, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and the Carolinas. A particularly lucrative commerce was trade with the West Indies. Up until 1800, when Connecticut's West Indian trade began a slip from which it never recovered, its citizens traded their agricultural surpluses and wood products for molasses, sugar, salt, and tropical fruits.

Other Connecticuters either gave up agriculture entirely or supplemented their agricultural incomes by turning to shipbuilding. Utilizing Connecticut's stands of oak, pine, and spruce, shipbuilders emerged in the seventeenth century and flourished in the eighteenth century in towns such as Branford, Guilford, Glastonbury, Hartford, Middletown, New Haven, Rocky Hill, and Stratford. In the nineteenth century the village of Mystic developed as the center of the state's shipbuilding industry. Shipbuilders like Charles Mallory and George Greenman produced ships for the sealing and whaling fleets and constructed famous packets and clipper ships. During the Civil War Mystic builders launched more than 30,000 tons of shipping for the Union Navy, including over fifty steamers.

The most hardy of nonagricultural occupations adopted by early Connecticuters was whaling. From the early eighteenth century until after the Civil War, when American whaling declined, whalers cleared from Connecticut ports such as Bridgeport, East Haddam, Mystic, New Haven, and Stonington. In the 1840s and 1850s, the heyday of American whaling, New London ranked behind only New Bedford and Nantucket among American whaling ports. Between 1784 and 1876 over 800 whalers cleared from New London. Whaling voyages were financed by sharp businessmen who saw profits to be acquired from whale oil, spermaceti candles, and whalebone. The

whalers were manned up until the 1820s by adventure-hungry New England Yankees and later—as the demand for whalemen increased—by Indians, blacks, Portuguese, and Pacific islanders. Undaunted by low pay, miserable food, and iron-tough captains and mates, Connecticut whalemen faced disaster from killer whales, rough seas, and ice floes—and in the process wrote a unique chapter in American maritime history. Although the last Connecticut whaling voyage was in 1909, Connecticuters still drawn to the state's whaling past visit Mystic Seaport to study its artifacts.

Connecticut's most successful attempt at economic diversification—the one most clearly related to the state's agricultural problems in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the foundation of Connecticut's contemporary economic eminence—was manufacturing. An idea of what Connecticut achieved in the field of manufacturing in the nineteenth century was provided by William A. Countryman, a former editor of the Hartford *Post*, who was a statistician in the Census Bureau in Washington in 1902 when he wrote:

> I have been much pleased as a native and citizen of Connecticut, now residing in Washington, D.C., to observe the evidence on every hand of the importance of our state as a manufacturing center. At my boarding-house I find the plated ware to be of Connecticut manufacture. The clock that tells me the time from the mantelpiece; the watch my friend carries; the hat he wears; his pocket knife, are all from Connecticut. At the office I write with a Connecticut pen and when I need an official envelope I find that the original package from which I take it bears a Connecticut mark. If I make an error and wish to erase it, I do so with a steel eraser made in Connecticut, and my letter finished I deposit in a corner letter box, stamped "New Britain, Conn." This letter I am sure, when it reaches its destination, is delivered from a post-office box locked with a Yale key. My desk has a Connecticut lock and key although perhaps made in Michigan. In looking about the city I am attracted to a shopwindow glittering with swords, and read on an ugly looking machette this inscription: "Hartford, Conn., U.S.A." A Winchester or a Marlin rifle, or a Colt's revolver, all made in Connecticut, I find in another window, and in still another a supply of fixed ammunition from New Haven and Bridgeport. Axes, hammers,

> augurs, all kinds of builders' hardware, and in a shop close by—all made in Connecticut. Foulards, cottons, woolens, worsteds, rubber goods of all kinds, are near by—they are standard makes from Connecticut. The gas and electric fixtures that show them off are of our manufacture, I doubt not. Do I want a button? Made in Connecticut. "Hand me a pin." The box tells me it is from "Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A." That automobile rushing by came from Connecticut. That bicycle, those tires, these novel call and door bells—all from Connecticut. Typewriters on every side from our little state. And if I lounge through residential streets summer evenings, I hear from many open doors and windows the sound of music. This may not be from a Connecticut piano, although in most cases the ivory keys would be found to have been made in our state, but in many instances emanates from a Connecticut-made gramaphone or phonograph. And what of the sewing machine? Everybody knows that the earliest ones were made in Connecticut, and the latest improved are made there now in great numbers. And last let me say that where my trousers are put away at night they go into a hanger of the best kind—made in Connecticut. This is really a brief catalogue of the glories of Connecticut seen in its manufactures.[11]

The key to Connecticut's emergence in the nineteenth century as a manufacturing giant was a remarkable inventiveness on the part of its Yankee sons. That inventiveness, like many things in Connecticut, is easier to describe than to explain. Perhaps, as Samuel Goodrich asserted in his *Memoirs* in 1856, the explanation can be traced to the Connecticuter's fondness for whittling:

> For my own part, I can testify that during my youthful days, I found the penknife a source of great amusement and even of instruction. Many a long winter evening, many a dull, drizzly day . . . have I spent in great ecstasy, making candle-rods, or some other simple article of household goods, for my mother, or in perfecting toys for myself and my young friends, or perhaps in attempts at more ambitious achievements. . . . My mind was stimulated to inquire into the mechanical powers, and my hand was educated to mechanical dexterity.[12]

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[11] Quoted in Ruth O. M. Andersen, *From Yankee to American: Connecticut 1865 to 1914* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1975), pp. 43–44.

[12] Quoted in David M. Roth and Freeman Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution: Connecticut 1763 to 1818* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1975), pp. 71–72.

Or perhaps the explanation for the inventiveness of the Connecticuter was simply that the Yankee hated the drudgery that made up so much of his life. In an attempt to escape it he tinkered endlessly and came up with "some clever contrivance that would do a distasteful chore quicker and better than the old method—shaping a lighter cradle for mowing wheat, making a gadget for paring apples, cracking nuts, or shelling corn, building a hand-cranked blower for winnowing grain, putting together a tougher horse harness, devising a pump to make water-drawing easier." [13] Whatever the explanation, Connecticuters early manifested an inventiveness that would figure substantially in the state's nineteenth-century transformation from a sleepy, agrarian society into a bustling, manufacturing giant.

David Bushnell, of Westbrook, as a student at Yale had contended with his professors that it was possible to destroy ships by exploding gunpowder under water. Undaunted by ridicule during the Revolution, he built a strange product that resembled two turtle shells placed together. The "vessel," capable of ascending and descending by the use of a foot-operated valve to admit and eject water, was armed with a torpedo that could be screwed into the hull of a ship. Although Bushnell's "Turtle" failed in attempts to destroy British ships in Boston Harbor, New York Harbor, and the Delaware River, he had taken the first steps toward the development of the submarine. Two later Connecticuters, John P. Holland and Simon Lake, contributed to the design of submarines that were adopted by the United States Navy in 1900 and 1912. Also in 1912, the New London Ship and Engine Company of Groton made the first use of the Diesel engine for submarines.

Connecticut became the original home of the American rubber industry as a result of the successful vulcanizing process worked out by Charles Goodyear. As he grew up watching his New Haven father tinker with and improve upon various farm tools, Goodyear became obsessed with finding a substance that would keep rubber from melting in summer and freezing in winter. Plagued by family debts, Goodyear was in and out of

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[13] W. Storrs Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957), p. 110.

debtor's prison most of his life but nevertheless managed to continue to experiment. In 1843 he hit upon the vulcanizing process that was the basis for the evolution of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company.

The American brass industry had its roots along the Mad River in Waterbury in the Naugatuck Valley. Between 1806 and 1809 Abel Porter and Company made the first successful castings of brass bars. The firm, bought out in 1811 by Frederick Leavenworth, James Scovill, and James Mitchell Lamson Scovill, evolved by 1850 into the Scovill Manufacturing Company, whose brass sheet output in 1860 was 663,000 pounds. The giant International Silver Company of Meriden, which was formed in 1898, developed from the efforts of Connecticut silvermakers such as Asa, Simeon, and William Rogers, who in 1847 devised a method of silver plating.

The roll of Connecticut's premier inventors and manufacturers goes on and on. John Fitch of South Windsor in 1787 built the first steamboat to make a successful trip. Dr. John I. Howe ended the shaping of pins by hand with a pinmaking machine in 1832. Glastonbury's J. B. Williams in 1840 sold the first American soap made exclusively for shaving. In 1858 Eli Whitney Blake developed a stone-crusher that has been used in road building ever since. Alonzo House of Bridgeport produced a steam-propelled horseless carriage in 1866. Linus Yale, Sr., and Linus Yale, Jr., led in the development of flat-keyed, dial, and combination locks that served as the basis for the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company, formed in 1869. In the 1880s Frank J. Sprague of Milford was responsible for a series of inventions that led to the building of the first American street railway in Richmond, Virginia. William Gray in 1889 patented the first coin-operated telephone.

No discussion of Connecticut's inventive genius would be complete without reference to the towering figure of Eli Whitney, often called "the father of American technology." Born in Westboro, Massachusetts, in 1765, Whitney as a young man was an undistinguished scholar whose only enthusiasm was working in his father's shop with tools and a turning lathe. During the Revolutionary War at the age of fifteen he manufactured nails and, when after the war the demand for nails fell off, he monopolized the production of hatpins in central Massachusetts. After teaching school to obtain funds for college, he entered Yale at age twenty-three in 1789. Graduating in 1792, he went south to work as a tutor and to read law. While visiting with the widow and family of General Nathanael Greene of Revolutionary War fame, Whitney learned that southern agricultural development could be facilitated by a machine that would clean short-staple upland cotton. Within ten days Whitney designed the cotton gin to do the job and thus changed the course of both southern and American history. Whitney's cotton gin resulted in a tremendous leap in cotton production and a predictable expansion of the South's utilization of slave labor. As for Whitney, he reaped perhaps a total of $90,000 from his invention and spent years immersed in patent infringement suits. Regarding one of the trials in which he was involved, Whitney wrote: "I had great difficulty in proving that the machine had ever been used in Georgia, although at the same moment, there were three separate sets of this machinery in motion within fifty yards of the building in which the court sat, and all so near that the rattling of the wheels was distinctly heard on the steps of the courthouse." [14] Whitney did not waste his life immersed in lawsuits over his claim to the invention of the cotton gin. From the late 1790s until his death in 1825 he operated a firearms factory near New Haven, where he devised the system of interchangeable parts. Whitney's concept, the basis for modern American mass production, was later used in the production of Isaac Singer's sewing machine and Cyrus McCormick's reaper and was the crucial element in the evolution of Connecticut's firearms industry.

The list of Connecticut's firearms manufacturers reads like a *Who's Who* of the industry. While Whitney began to produce muskets for the federal government at his factory near New Haven, at Middletown in 1799 Simeon North began to fill government requests for arms. By 1853 North had supplied Washington with 50,000 pistols and 33,000 rifles. Horace Smith and

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[14] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 112.

Daniel Wesson of Norwich, skilled in the production of repeating firearms, played a role in the evolution of the Winchester Company of New Haven, whose "Winchester" became famous around the globe. Samuel Sharps invented a breech-loading rifle and subsequently opened a factory in Hartford in 1851. But the premier firearms manufacturer of nineteenth-century Connecticut was Samuel Colt, whose "Peacemaker" had such an impact on the winning of the West in the decades after the Civil War.

Colt, born in Hartford in 1814, weathered early years wracked by his father's business failure, his mother's death from consumption, and his own checkered attempts to emerge as a leading entrepreneur. Finally, utilizing Whitney's system of interchangeable parts and a program of aggressive promotion in the United States and abroad, he was able to build a great armory in Hartford in 1855. A 250-horsepower steam engine drove some 400 machines that allowed him to turn out 250 guns a day by 1857. Although Colt drove himself to a premature death in 1862, during the Civil War his armory turned out almost 400,000 revolvers, 6,500 rifles, and 114,000 muskets.

Another Connecticut industry that owed much to the system of interchangeable parts was clockmaking. Eli Terry, who did for clockmaking what Whitney did for the arms industry, was born in East Windsor. In 1793 he opened a shop in Plymouth where he made brass and wooden clocks that he sold door to door. By 1808 Terry had developed machines run by water power to do much labor formerly done by hand, and in 1816 he obtained a patent for a thirty-hour wood-movement shelf clock that could be sold far more cheaply than hand-produced, taller models. Further strides in the production of inexpensive clocks were made between 1818 and 1832 by Joseph Ives of Bristol, who was noted for the development of an eight-day rolled-brass movement. By the mid-nineteenth century Connecticut clockmaking firms such as Seth Thomas of Plymouth, William L. Gilbert of Winsted, E. N. Welch of Bristol, and the New Haven Clock Company dominated the American clockmaking industry with an annual production of 400,000 clocks.

While such manufacturing eminence was in great measure the result of the inventiveness of Connecticut's sons, the state's

emergence as a manufacturing giant was based on other factors as well. From the early nineteenth century to World War I Connecticut was able to develop adequate transportation facilities to distribute its products and to transport coal when water power was no longer sufficient to drive its machines. In the first half of the nineteenth century Connecticut's transportation needs were served by plank toll roads; the Farmington Canal, which between 1835 and 1847 connected New Haven to Northampton, Massachusetts; and steamboats that operated on the Connecticut River and on Long Island Sound. Although the steamboats were to continue to operate until the 1930s, the last half of the nineteenth century saw Connecticut transportation dominated by railroads. Hartford and New Haven were connected in 1839; the New Haven line was completed to Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1856; the Housatonic Railroad linked Bridgeport to the Massachusetts Western Railroad in 1842; the New Haven and Hartford line was extended to Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1844; and in the 1840s and 1850s a network of lines connected Hartford with such eastern Connecticut communities as Manchester, Willimantic, Plainfield, Putnam, Norwich, and New London. The giant in Connecticut railroading was the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, which between the 1880s and World War I expanded to include competing railroad lines as well as coastal freight and passenger boat lines.

Another factor in the expansion of Connecticut manufacturing was the growth of capital in the state, as reflected in the emergence of banks and insurance companies. Banks were begun in Hartford and New London in 1792, in New Haven and Middletown in 1795, and in Norwich and Bridgeport between 1795 and 1805. By 1850 the state had forty-three commercial banks and fifteen savings banks; by 1974 the state's 169 towns had more than 175 banks. Connecticut's eminence in the insurance industry and Hartford's title of the "insurance capital" of the nation can be traced to the 1790s, when Hartford businessmen agreed to bear a portion of a shipowner's financial risks in return for a share of the profits. The first insurance company as such was formed in Norwich in 1795 and provided protection for losses from fire. Soon afterward, marine insurance compa-

nies were established in New Haven (1797); in Hartford, Middletown, and Norwich (1803); and in New London (1805). The state's oldest active fire-insurance company is the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, formed in 1810. The firm, as well as Hartford's reputation, was strengthened by the company's response to the New York fire of December 1835, which destroyed hundreds of buildings:

> When the news reached Hartford, Eliphalet Terry, president of Hartford Fire Insurance Company, rushed to the Hartford Bank, obtained a blanket promise to honor all drafts which he might make on his company, and in turn pledged his personal fortune as security. Going to New York on a sleigh in below-zero temperatures, he found that most insurance companies had collapsed and the populace was demoralized. Terry immediately announced that his company would pay every just claim in full. He also opened his books for new business. In response, he was deluged with applications. The Hartford Company was well on the road to booming prosperity. In the process, it had greatly boosted Hartford's reputation as the best place to obtain insurance.[15]

Since the mid-nineteenth century scores of fire, life, and multiple-line insurance companies have located in Hartford, including Aetna and the Travelers. As of 1974 there were forty-six national insurance companies centered in Connecticut with assets of some $40,000,000,000.

Thus, utilizing the inventive genius of its sons, varied transportation developments and the capital of its banks and insurance companies, and eventually with massive numbers of immigrants to supply needed labor, Connecticut emerged in the nineteenth century as a bustling manufacturing center. Its manufacturing eminence has continued into the twentieth century. In the 1970s Connecticut was first in the nation in the number of people employed in the manufacture of aircraft engines and parts, submarines, bearings, and helicopters. Connecticut was second in workers involved in the production of typewriters, office machines, and electrical equipment; third in the manufacture of hardware, guns and ammunition, optical instruments, and watches and clocks.

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[15] Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, p. 331.

Yet, a curious feature of Connecticut is that the inventiveness that the state has demonstrated in the factory and the laboratory has not generally been visible in its political history. While Connecticut has certainly had its share of social and political mavericks, a goodly number of political upheavals, and a truly unique record of integrating ethnics into the political structure, the state's history, as we shall see in the remaining chapters of this volume, is essentially a tale revolving around the retention of a conservative political atmosphere. Puritanism and the Congregational Church; mass population emigrations—especially in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; rural domination of the General Assembly; and the assumption of conservative political patterns by ethnics integrated into the body politic have all contributed to the establishment and maintenance of a political order characterized principally by a respect for order and stability and a marked fiscal cautiousness.

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Colonial Connecticut

THE chronicles of the American colonial era—the period between the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which ended the French and Indian War—abound with spectacular occurrences in almost every American colony. One thinks, for example, of John Smith's heroics and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia; of the rise of John Coode's Protestant Association in Maryland; of the "Regulators" in North Carolina; of Leisler's Revolt in New York; and of the controversies surrounding Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and suspected witches in Massachusetts Bay. Yet, as one examines the annals of "His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut," one finds little that could be termed "spectacular" or even dramatic. Except for a hair-raising—in literal terms—confrontation with the Pequot Indians in the 1630s, Connecticut's colonial history rather reveals a remarkable placidity. Throughout its colonial career Connecticut was a small, conservative, agricultural society essentially isolated from the main currents and forces of the Anglo-American world. Connecticut was indeed—as so many of its historians have pointed out—a "Land of Steady Habits." That such was the case was largely due to the colony's commitment to Puritanism. For Connecticut, it must always be remembered, was an English colony whose settlement and development were rooted in that stern Puritan faith introduced and sustained by its founders and subsequent leaders.

Puritanism was a response to the limited nature of England's Reformation in the sixteenth century. The Anglican Church, which was created in 1534 when Henry VIII broke from Rome over the issue of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, differed little in structure or dogma from the Roman Catholic Church. Henry replaced the Pope as the head of the ecclesiastical system and introduced an English version of the Bible; but he did not move toward called-for Protestant reforms like altering the sacramental system and rejecting medieval Catholic innovations such as the invocation of saints, a complicated liturgy, and the veneration of relics. During the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553), however, a more distinct move toward Protestantism was effected—priests were permitted to marry; images were abolished; the sacraments were repudiated except for Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and the Anglican Church replaced the Catholic conception of salvation through works with the Lutheran doctrine of salvation by faith. These Protestant reforms were obliterated when Queen Mary (1553–1558) returned England to Catholicism and the Roman fold; and even when England was guided back to Protestantism under Elizabeth (1558–1603), the Anglican Church that was revived was not sufficiently "cleansed" of Catholic remnants to satisfy England's most ardent Protestants—the Puritans.

The Puritans sought to complete the Reformation by demonstrating that salvation could be achieved only by returning to the simplicity of the early Christian Church and the truth of God as revealed in the Bible. A break from the Roman Catholic Church, the Puritans believed, had been imperative. Catholicism had burdened Christianity over the centuries with a complicated liturgy, incense, vestments, stained-glass windows, adoration of saints, veneration of relics, and a hierarchy of bishops at the head of which was the Pope. But the Anglican Church constructed by Elizabeth was viewed by the Puritans as little better.

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Elizabeth had made the Church Protestant, but the "Elizabethan Compromise" effected by 1570 had resulted in an Anglican Church that retained the episcopal form of organization and much of Catholic ritual. The Puritans sought to rid the Anglican Church of episcopal government and to develop worship

composed of plain services, with substantial study of the Bible and tough-minded sermons on moral duty. The prospects for Puritan reform of the Anglican Church, however, were not bright. Elizabeth, fearing that her cherished kingdom would be wracked by sectarian strife, refused to satisfy determined Puritans or uncompromising Catholics. Her reign brought repression of Puritans as well as the hounding of Jesuits into "priest-holes" on the estates of Catholic county squires.

The situation of the Puritans hardly improved under the Stuarts—James I (1603–1625) and Charles I (1625–1649). At the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, James I, enraged at a Puritan request for a reform of the episcopal form of church organization, shouted "No Bishop, No King" and threatened to harry out of the land all those who did not conform to the Anglican Church. Puritan ministers were instructed to accept the ceremonies and trappings of the Established Church or give up their positions. Charles I was equally committed to the unreformed Anglican Church and punished those Puritans who spoke in protest. Puritan ministers were deprived of their pulpits, and Puritan writings were banned. At the same time, Charles's taxation policies fell heavily upon the Puritan middle class, strongest in the eastern and southern counties of England. As a result, English Puritans by the late 1620s and early 1630s were convinced that England and its Established Church were not capable of redemption. Facing an unreformed church and an arbitrary government, the Puritans looked abroad to the New World as a site on which to complete the work of the Lord.

After selecting New England for their colonizing activity, the Puritans formed the Massachusetts Bay Company and by a shrewd maneuver secured from Charles I a charter to the land between the Merrimac and Charles rivers. Between 1630 and the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in England in 1642, over twenty thousand Puritans in some two hundred ships made the treacherous Atlantic crossing to New England. Although the major thrust of the Puritan migration was along the shores of Massachusetts Bay and nearly thirty miles into the interior, the concern here will be with those hardy Puritans

who left the relative security of Massachusetts Bay to settle in the area the Indians called Quinnehtukqut—"Beside the Long Tidal River."

While Rhode Island was settled by Massachusetts Bay Puritans—such as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson—who did not find the theocratic atmosphere of the Bay Colony congenial, Connecticut's early communities were planted by orthodox Puritans who were very much in accord in matters of faith with their former neighbors in Massachusetts. It appears that the first Connecticuters were displeased only by the limited economic opportunities in and around Boston. The first Puritan thrust from Massachusetts Bay into Connecticut was undertaken by Bay residents of Watertown, Dorchester, and Cambridge who found the quantity and lushness of the land in the Connecticut River Valley far superior to that in their former communities. By the mid-1630s settlements had been established in Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford, and the Reverend Thomas Hooker—the guiding force behind the settlement at Hartford—gradually emerged as the spiritual leader of the River Towns.

Another major Puritan thrust into Connecticut centered on the settlement of New Haven in 1638. Inspired by the Reverend John Davenport, former vicar of St. Stephen's in London, and Theophilus Eaton, a successful Puritan merchant who had served as commercial agent of Charles I at Copenhagen, two boatloads of English Puritans arrived in Boston in 1637. Although originally intending to reside permanently in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Davenport–Eaton group was disturbed by the Anne Hutchinson controversy that was shaking the Bay Colony and unimpressed with the sites near Boston that might serve as trading ports. When word came to Boston of the splendid harbor at Quinnipiac, the party resolved to relocate. Landing in April 1638 on the shores of what would be christened New Haven Bay, these sturdy Puritans planted the nucleus of the New Haven Colony, which by 1643 would also include the towns of Milford, Guilford, Branford, Stamford, and Southold (the last on Long Island). Although New Haven sought desperately to maintain itself as an autonomous colony,

economic difficulties and a fear of incorporation into Anglican New York drove the community in 1665 to become a part of the Colony of Connecticut.

Such were the beginnings of the Connecticut colony, which by the eve of the Revolution would consist of seventy towns and a population of nearly two hundred thousand. As Puritanism was the key to the settlement of the colony, so it continued to be the force that largely determined the society's values and characteristics.

Central to Puritan theology, and a principle that contributed significantly to the evolution of Connecticut society, was the Puritan concept of "the Elect." The Puritan believed that few residents of this earth would ever achieve a state of grace. He held, following the theology of John Calvin of Geneva, that God had promised Adam and his posterity life and salvation in return for obedience to His laws. With Adam's fall in Eden, God's pledge had been withdrawn and mankind doomed to physical suffering, spiritual corruption, and death. Yet Calvinist theology qualified this depressing view of mankind's condition by holding that God in His infinite mercy promised salvation to a select group of men and women. These few, referred to by Calvinists as "the Elect," would undergo a spiritual rebirth. Although the Puritans knew—Calvin so stated—that the number of Elect would be small, they were nevertheless sure that they would be counted among that holy group. The Puritans came to this rather immodest conclusion by discerning that God had singled them out for His special attention in much the same way He had chosen the Israelites in the time of Abraham.

The Puritan thus lived his life constantly searching for evidence that he had undergone the spiritual awakening that would signify his election. As a result the Puritan image is of a person turned inward, ever taking his spiritual temperature to discern the condition of his soul. Meditating, praying, castigating himself when he believed that his thoughts or actions were such as to indicate that he had not yet been included among the Elect, the Puritan conceived of this life as a time of trial during which he must maintain the purity of thought and deed

that was a manifestation of his reception of God's saving grace.

Unlike most, however, the Puritan did not relegate his theological condition to a corner of his life while he focused on earthly concerns; rather, the Puritan ordered his society on the basis of his concept of the Elect. If it were true that this life was but a preparation for the next and that God sought on this earth a society that approached His own purity, it followed that any sane man would recognize that human society had to be organized around the leadership of the Elect. Thus when the Puritan had the opportunity to order society according to his inclinations, as he had in Connecticut, he created a theocracy—a social organization led by God's chosen, the Elect.

Strangely enough, rule by a religious elite had not been the intention of Connecticut's founding father, the Reverend Thomas Hooker. Born in Leicestershire, England, in 1586, Hooker was educated at Queen's and Emmanuel Colleges, Cambridge University, receiving his A.B. in 1608 and his A.M. in 1611. He was converted to Puritanism while he was a fellow at Emmanuel from 1611 to 1618, and his subsequent ecclesiastical career in England was conducted under the disapproving glare of James I and the Anglican clergy. Persecuted by William Laud, the Bishop of London, and his agents, Hooker fled to Holland, where he preached in Amsterdam, Delft, and Rotterdam. But he saw only limited opportunities for himself in Holland and none in Stuart England, so Hooker decided for America, arriving in Boston in September 1633. Although chosen as a pastor at Newtown and selected by the Bay leaders to answer Roger Williams in debate, Hooker was apparently restless in Massachusetts Bay. When members of his Newtown congregation looked beyond the Boston area for better land, Hooker supported the decision to transfer his flock to the Connecticut Valley.

Once he was in Connecticut, Hooker made clear that he had in fact nourished opposition to the principles of the Massachusetts Bay leadership, for Hooker's preaching in Hartford indicated that he thought the people should play a greater role in their government than they had enjoyed in the Bay Colony.

In a sermon preached on May 31, 1638, Hooker laid down the principle on which the colony's framework of government—The Fundamental Orders of 1639—would be based. Hooker maintained that the foundation of authority rested in the consent of the people expressed through the electoral process. Yet despite Hooker's call for popular participation in government and the fact that the Fundamental Orders clearly called for separation in Connecticut of civil privilege from church membership, there was erected in the colony a system of government based on membership in and leadership by the Puritan Congregational Church.

Connecticut's founding fathers erected their system of government on the proposition that the mass of mankind, the non-Elect, was evil, corrupt, and hardly fit for political participation. Connecticut's leaders held that "the making of rulers of the lower sort of people will issue in contempt, let their opinion be what it will." [1] One sermon held that government by common men "directly tends at once to destroy both the Rectitude and Success of Government . . . and to enervate the Force of all their Administrations." If the common sort should gain political control, government would "sinke into the mire of popular confusion." [2] Functioning on the basis of such assumptions, Connecticut's leaders erected barriers to mass participation in the government. To participate in town affairs, one had to be an "admitted inhabitant": an adult male, possessing a freehold estate rated at fifty shillings a year or forty pounds in the common list, of "Honest Conservation," and regarded as acceptable by a majority of the town's voters. To be a freeman and serve in and vote for colony-wide offices, one had to meet property qualifications of a freehold estate of forty shillings or forty pounds personal, be of "Quiet and Peaceable Behaviour and Civil Conservation," and be approved by the town's freemen and selectmen. In the early years of the colony an individual's chances of becoming either

an admitted inhabitant or a freeman were nonexistent if he was not a member of the Congregational Church. Thus Connecticut's Puritan fathers not only excluded from political participation all women, children, apprentices, indentured servants, slaves, blacks, and Indians but a good portion also of the white, adult male population. The number of admitted inhabitants in the towns was small—as late as the 1760s only twenty-five percent of the adult males in New Haven took part in town meetings. The evidence indicates that the number of freemen was small as well. In 1669 there were but 1,789 freemen out of an adult male population of 3,000, and in 1740 only 4,000 when the male population was 15,000.

The principal result of these political arrangements—as indeed was intended—was government by the colony's elite. At both the town and colony levels, Connecticut's leaders were devoted Congregationalists, often Yale graduates, tended to come from the families with the largest landholdings, and frequently were active in law and business. A study of the towns of Hartford, Norwich, and Fairfield during the period 1700 to 1784 indicates that each community was in effect presided over by its leading families—in Hartford the Pitkins; in Norwich the Huntingtons and the Traceys; and in Fairfield the Burrs.[3] The same families that provided leadership for the towns dominated the colony-wide offices—governor, deputy governor, and members of the General Assembly. Moreover, the men who filled the colony's highest offices could generally count on almost lifetime tenure. Of the 111 men who served as governors, deputy governors, and members of the Council (the upper house of the Assembly) between the early 1660s and 1776, the average individual was elected and reelected fourteen times. Members of the Pitkin family served for ninety-eight years, the Allyn family for seventy-seven, the Wolcott family for sixty-nine, and the Stanley family for sixty-six. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Connecticut's governor during the Revolution, entered the General Assembly in the 1730s and proceeded to

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[1] Quoted in Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 12.

[2] Quoted in Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, p. 13.

[3] Bruce C. Daniels, "Large Town Power Structures in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut: An Analysis of Political Leadership in Hartford, Norwich, and Fairfield" (Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1970), *passim*.

occupy colony-wide office until his retirement in 1784 at seventy-four. It is clear that an individual of religious and economic substance could, upon entering public life in colonial Connecticut, expect to be reelected for as long as he wished to bear the burdens of office.

But what of the voters within this system, those whose principal responsibility apparently was "to vote and to vote, as a rule, to continue in office those who were already there." [4] Was there not a sense of resentment on the part of substantial farmers and traders as they saw their more prosperous neighbors monopolizing society's positions of honor? It would appear not.

Connecticut's Puritans were presented as weekly fare with sermons which made clear that leaders held their charge to rule directly from God. On the first page of every law book in the colony was printed the scriptural declaration: "There is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God." Magistrates were told that they were God's "Viceroyes," given authority by His will to keep order among fallen man. Moreover, the congregations were warned that disobedience constituted "resistance of the Ordinances of God." [5] Such sermons admonished all to respect the civil leadership of those persons whom God had placed at the top of the social scale.

Connecticut's Puritans did just that. They were not only certain that the colony's Elect should rule; they were just as certain of the principal responsibilities which that leadership should bear. Foremost among those responsibilities was accomplishment of the Puritan mission in the New World. The Puritans, unlike their fellow Englishmen who came to America for gold or fish or land or trade, embarked on their American venture in order to complete the Reformation. Anguishing over the unwillingness of the Stuarts and their clergy to reform the impurities in Anglicanism, the Puritans were struck by the notion that God was calling them to establish a truly Christian Church and society that would serve as a model for the rest of

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[4] Charles McLean Andrews, *Connecticut's Place in Colonial History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 32.

[5] Quotations cited in Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, p. 10.

Christendom. Since it was obviously impossible to succeed in such an undertaking in Stuart England, the Puritans removed to a new land where their experiment might succeed without Stuart obstacles. Hence the Puritan concept of mission. The Puritans were to journey to the wilderness to do the Lord's work; and, they were convinced, God would sanctify and promote the venture by providing His protection. The Puritans' concept of their mission was nowhere more clearly stated than by John Winthrop aboard the *Arbella* in 1630, as one of the first Puritan contingents sailed toward New England:

> The Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, as his own people and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see more of his wisdom, power, goodness, and truth than formerly we have been acquainted with, we shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a praise and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations: the Lord make it like that of New England: for we must Consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us . . . we shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into Curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going. . . .[6]

One result of this Puritan sense of mission was the manner in which Connecticut's seventeenth-century Puritan dealt with the Pequot menace. When Thomas Hooker and his small band reached Hartford in 1636, there were sixteen Indian tribes in Connecticut, all members of the Algonkin Confederation. Because of their fear of the Mohawks to the west, Connecticut's Indians, who numbered between six and seven thousand, sought the friendship of the newcomers. The Indians sold land to the English and provided instruction in New World agricultural, hunting, and fishing techniques.

The generally harmonious Puritan–Indian relationship in the

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[6] John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," in Gerald N. Grob and Robert N. Beck, eds., *American Ideas: Source Readings in the Intellectual History of the United States*, 2 volumes (New York: The Free Press, 1963), 1:37–38.

colony was disturbed by the Pequots, a tribe that had migrated from the Hudson River Valley to the southeast corner of Connecticut in the region of the Mystic River. From the outset of white intrusion in Connecticut, the Pequots, whose name according to Roger Williams meant "destroyers of men," clearly indicated that they were spoiling for a fight. In 1633 the Pequots wiped out a small group of English traders near the mouth of the Connecticut River, and in 1636 they gave refuge to a band of Block Island Indians who had killed an English trader on Long Island Sound. When such provocations were followed by a Pequot attack on the English fort at Saybrook, and by evidence to indicate that the Pequots were seeking an alliance with the Narragansets to drive the whites from Connecticut, the Puritans mounted an offensive.

In 1637 Connecticut's River Towns assembled a force of ninety men under the command of Captain John Mason to deal with the Pequot menace. After some deft maneuvers during which Mason apparently convinced the Pequots that he was reluctant to join in battle, the Connecticut force managed to surprise the Indians with a night attack on the Pequot fort at Mystic. There then took place as horrible a slaughter as one is likely to find in all of American history. The English set fire to the fort, and those Pequots who were not burned to death were shot down by the Puritans who surrounded the burning enclosure. Mason calculated that six to seven hundred Pequots—including women and children—were slain.

The Puritans were not yet through with the Pequots. The remaining members of the tribe were tracked to a swamp in Fairfield, where once again they were surrounded. After scores of Pequots were killed trying to break through the Puritan lines, a pitiful remnant of the tribe surrendered, to be ultimately given as slaves to tribes friendly to the English. In his account of the confrontation with the Pequots, Mason concluded: "Thus the LORD was pleased to smite our Enemies . . . and to give us their Land for an Inheritance." [7] But while the initial Puritan at-

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[7] Quoted in Albert Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 40.

tack on the tribe may have been justified by Pequot provocations and intentions, the subsequent tracking down and decimation of the Pequots was a dramatic indication of the cultural and racial blindness not only of the seventeenth-century Englishman, but of the Connecticut Puritan so struck with his uniqueness as one of God's "Chosen."

One can see a similar cultural and racial blindness in the attitude of the Connecticut Puritan to the black. Africans were first introduced into Connecticut as slaves early in the colonial period. Prominent early settlers such as Edward Hopkins of Hartford and John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton of New Haven owned slaves. Subsequently Connecticut's coastal ports and inland river communities received loads of slaves, and major town merchants sent surplus slaves to the southern colonies. The Connecticut Puritan was clearly not squeamish about the practice of slavery.

There were no great numbers of black slaves in colonial Connecticut. Because extensive agriculture was limited in Connecticut, the colony did not require the gangs of black field hands that were used on the rice and tobacco plantations of the southern colonies. The average slaveholder in Connecticut had one to three slaves and often worked with the slave both in agriculture and in pursuits like fishing, lumbering, and shipbuilding. The oft-quoted journal of Mrs. Sarah Kemble Knight of Boston gives insight to the white–slave relationship in Connecticut in an entry for 1704–1705:

> And they Generally lived very well and comfortably in their famelies. But too Indulgent (especially the farmers) to their slaves: sufering too great familiarity from them, permitting them to sit at Table and eat with them, (as they say to save time,) and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer . . . who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctualy perform; w[hi]ch caused some hard words between them; But at length they put the matter to Arbitration and Bound themselves to stand to the award as such as they named—w[hi]ch done, the Arbitrators Having heard the Allegations of both parties, Order the master to pay 40s to black face, and acknowledge his

> fault. And so the matter ended: the poor master very honestly standing to the award.[8]

On the other hand, there was no doubt that the black slave in colonial Connecticut led a life bounded by definite restrictions. In 1660 slaves were exempted from military duty; by 1690 "black codes" existed that required blacks to have passes when they travelled from their homes and prohibited their being sold intoxicating beverages without their owner's permission; in 1708 blacks were denied the privilege of selling goods to whites, were prohibited from striking or arguing with a white, and were prohibited from being out at night after 9:00 P.M.; and in 1730 black slaves were enjoined against speaking harshly to any white. At the same time, free blacks in colonial Connecticut did not have the status of white freemen and were often included in the slave codes. Free blacks had to carry passes when travelling outside their town's limits; could not meet socially with slaves; could not serve on juries; and, although they were taxed the same as whites, could not vote or hold office. The black man in colonial Connecticut—whether free or slave—was hardly judged or treated as an equal with whites. Indeed, blacks were often placed in the same category as animals. The Reverend Daniel Wadsworth's inventory for his 1746 will included "one Black cow, one Red cow, one Brindle Whiteface, 21 sheep, [and] one old Negro woman named Rose. . . ."[9]

Perhaps the most significant result of the Puritan sense of mission was the energy that each Puritan colony in America expended in order to maintain its theological and ecclesiastical purity. It clearly made no sense to journey to the wilderness to escape the corruptions of Christianity in England, only to permit such corruptions to be transplanted to the Wilderness Zion. It is ironic to note how frequently nineteenth-century New England historians celebrated their colonial ancestors for establishing religious liberty in America. The Puritans did no such thing. While they were ardent advocates of religious liberty for themselves, they were certainly not proponents of such liberty for those not within the Puritan fold. Perhaps the most memorable statement of the Puritans' approach to the subject of religious liberty was presented in 1647 by Nathaniel Ward, a Puritan pastor who migrated to New England in 1634 and became minister of the Congregational church in Ipswich, Massachusetts. Ward, in *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America,* laid down the Puritan position regarding toleration for non-Puritans: "Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the World. . . . He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepant way of Religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it."[10] Regarding such convictions as fundamental to the success of their mission, New England's Puritans consistently sought to close off their holy commonwealths from intrusions by non-Puritans.

The first step taken to insure the purity of New England's Wilderness Zion was to put the Puritan Congregational churches on a firm legal footing. The Fundamental Orders of 1639 had charged the colony's magistrates with "preserving the disciplyne of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospel is now practiced amongst us," and the Code of 1650, the first codification of Connecticut's laws, directed the "Civil Authority to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of Christ be observed in every Church." Attendance at one's local Congregational church on Sundays and days of fasting and thanksgiving was required on penalty of a five-shilling fine. Heavy penalties awaited the individual who interrupted or challenged the minister. A first offense brought censure, while a second transgression called for a five-pound fine. If the fine were not paid, the offender might be put on display on lecture day "with a paper fixed on his breast written with Capital Letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES."[11] Finally, the Code of 1650 restated a law of 1644 that made the financial maintenance of the ministers of the

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[8] Quoted in Albert Van Dusen, *Puritans Against the Wilderness: Connecticut History to 1763* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1975), p. 99.

[9] Quoted in David O. White, *Connecticut's Black Soldiers: 1775–1783* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1973), p. 11.

[10] Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America* in Grob and Beck, eds., *American Ideas,* 1:47, 49.

[11] Quotation cited in Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 67.

Puritan Congregational Church an obligation upon everyone, Congregationalist or not. This provision was strengthened many times in Puritan Connecticut, notably in 1691, 1697, 1699, and 1717.

Having erected the Congregational Church as the "established church" in the colony, Connecticut's Puritans had to contend with various challenges to their ecclesiastical control by increasing numbers of non-Puritan newcomers. The most spirited of such challenges in the seventeenth century came from the Quakers and the Rogerenes.

The Society of Friends, better known as Quakers because they "quaked [or trembled] at the word of the Lord," was a sect born in England in the first half of the seventeenth century. Rejecting rites, ceremonies, and a formal priesthood as unnecessary for the understanding of God's will, the Quakers concluded that religion was an individual, inward matter that came from a perception of one's "inner light." In the belief that such "inner light" was a sure reflection of God's presence, the Quakers rejected all forms of earthly control— secular or ecclesiastical. Quakers damned existing churches and did their best to disrupt services by cantankerous methods such as references to the clergy as "Priests of Baal" and bearing "conclusive evidence of the fall of man [by running] up the broad aisle of the meeting house in a costume which that event put forever out of fashion." [12] Toward the authority of the civil magistrates the Quakers manifested comparable disrespect, refusing to pay tithes, bear arms, or take oaths. Driven out of England in the 1650s and 1660s because of what was regarded as their obnoxious troublemaking, the Quakers came to America, where they were generally subjected to fines, whippings, and banishment. In Massachusetts Bay, four zealous Friends were hanged on Boston Common when they persisted in returning after banishment.

The Puritan fathers of Connecticut, dedicated to the purity of their Wilderness Zion, were predictably determined that Quakers would gain no foothold in the colony. New Haven's Puritans maintained:

> If after they have suffered the law . . . and shall presume to come into this jurisdiction again, every such male Quaker shall for that second offence be branded on the hand with the letter H [for Heretic], be committed to prison and kept to work till he can be sent away at his own charge, and every Quaker woman that hath suffered the law here and shall presume to come into this jurisdiction again, shall be severely whipt . . . and for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a fourth time again offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron.[13]

The New Haveners, distinguished as the most fanatical Puritans in New England, were as good as their word. One Humphrey Norton, who returned to New Haven after banishment to follow his Quaker leanings, paid the price. He was "whipped severely, burnt in the hand with the letter 'H,' and banished. . . ." [14] Three of Norton's cohorts who spoke out against his treatment were apprehended by the New Haven authorities and forcibly removed to Rhode Island.

While less brutal than the New Haveners, Hartford's Puritans were no less determined that the Quakers not spread their pernicious doctrines. The River Towns decreed that punishment be left to "the discretion of the magistrates . . . where any [Quaker] shall be found fomenting their wicked tenets . . . to punish the said heretics by fine or banishment or corporal punishment as they judge meet." [15] Quakers in Hartford in the 1650s and 1660s were hustled out of town and east into Rhode Island as quickly as could be managed, and in 1676 one William Edmundson was dragged out of a Congregational meeting in Hartford with an arm hurt "so that it bled." [16] As a result of such

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[12] Quotations cited in Oscar Barck, Jr., and Hugh Lefler, *Colonial America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 182.

[13] *New Haven Colonial Records, 1653–1665*, p. 239, quoted in Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1947), pp. 213–214.

[14] M. Louise Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 165.

[15] *Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1636–1665*, pp. 303, 324, quoted in Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy*, p. 214.

[16] Quoted in Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*, p. 167.

forcefulness by Connecticut's authorities, the Quakers obtained no foothold in the colony until the Revolutionary era.

Connecticut had a much harder time with the Rogerenes. Organized by John and James Rogers, Jr., of New London in the 1670s, the Rogerenes were Seventh Day Baptists who repudiated Sunday worship and infant baptism. Ignoring whippings, fines, imprisonments, and various other harassments, the Rogerenes manifested their disdain for the Puritan establishment by immersing new converts in public, travelling on the Sabbath, and working on Sunday to show their contempt for the laws of the Puritan community.[17] Such challenges to the Puritan order by the Rogerenes continued for decades, leading in the 1720s to a series of measures by the Congregational establishment to frustrate zealous demonstrations by the radical sect. Legislation in 1721 required persons accused of non-attendance at Congregational worship to provide proof that they had attended some church and provided punishment of a fine or a public whipping for persons guilty of "prophanation of the Lord's Day" or "any disturbance" of public worship. An act in 1723 "for preventing disorders in the worship of God" punished persons for conducting unauthorized religious meetings and administering the sacraments by a fine or a whipping.[18] Although not intimidated by such measures, the Rogerenes, too fanatical to obtain a large following, eventually died out in the Revolutionary period.

Dissent from the Puritan Congregational order, however, did not die out. In the eighteenth century Connecticut's Puritans had to contend with Baptists and Anglicans who proved to be more substantial opponents of the Congregationalists than were the Quakers and Rogerenes.

Baptists began to hold meetings in Groton in 1705 under the leadership of Valentine Wightman, who formerly had preached at the Baptist church in North Kingston, Rhode Island. Although harassed by the Connecticut authorities, the Baptists, less flamboyant than the Quakers or the Rogerenes, managed to hold on and even expand the number of their congregations. In 1726 Stephen Gorton became pastor of a Baptist flock in New London, and soon afterward Baptist groups appeared in Wallingford, Farmington, Lyme, and Saybrook. Such Baptist expansion was not carried forward without the bitter scorn of the representatives of the established religious order. John Bulkley, a champion of Congregationalism, said of the Baptists:

> [They were obsessed with the desire] to bring an Odium on the Ministry in the Land, and hurt their Reputation and Interest with the People. . . . If they can but gain [the people] to their *Senseless Opinions,* furnish them with some Objections against the Established Religion of the Country, render them prompt and ready at Invective and Railery against Ministers, and prevail on them to forsake our Assemblies, neglect Family Prayer, Prophane the Sabbath etc., Tis enough, and there they leave them, they are now good Christians.[19]

The Baptists, no mean hands at invective, charged that the Puritan ministers were "hirelings, they teach for Hire and Divine for Money . . . Yea and what is worse, they are Greedy Dogs and Ravenous Wolves that devour their Flocks: Therefore come not nigh them." [20]

If Puritan Congregationalists were disturbed by the existence of determined Baptists in their midst, they were absolutely incensed by the eighteenth-century growth of Anglicanism in the colony. Anglican missionaries representing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts spearheaded the penetration of Puritan Connecticut. The Reverend George Muirson, a Society missionary at Rye, preached at Stratford in 1707 and succeeded in converting one John Reed, a Congregational minister. Subsequent conversions followed, including in the 1720s that of the Reverend Samuel Johnson of West Haven. By the 1730s there were Anglican congregations in Stratford, Fairfield, New London, Newtown, and Redding. More than a score

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[17] By the time of his death in 1721, John Rogers spent a total of fifteen years in jail for his opposition to the Puritan order. See William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent, 1630–1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State,* 2 volumes (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 1:252.

[18] Quotations cited in McLoughlin, *New England Dissent,* 1:252.

[19] Quoted in Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee,* p. 169.

[20] Quoted in Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee,* p. 169.

of Anglican parishes were formed in the 1740s and 1750s when divisions among the Congregationalists caused by the Great Awakening caused many to seek the security of the Anglican Church. The Anglicans' success was, of course, a bitter pill for the Puritans to swallow. Although London watched benevolently over the status of Anglicans in the colony, it appears that the Puritan Congregationalists nevertheless harassed adherents to the English church in various ways, in particular demanding that Anglicans pay taxes for the support of the Congregational Church while denying the use of such churches for Anglican services. George Muirson wrote to the Society's headquarters in London:

> And though every Churchman in that Colony pays his rate for the building and repairing their [Congregationalist] meeting-houses, yet they are so maliciously set against us, that they deny us the use of them, though on week days. They tell our people that they will not suffer the house of God to be defiled with idolatrous worship and superstitious ceremonies. They are so bold that they spare not openly to speak reproachfully, and with great contempt, of our Church. They say the sign of the cross is the mark of the beast and the sign of the devil, and that those who receive it are given to the devil. And when our people complain to their magistrates of the persons who thus speak, they will not so much as sign a warrant to apprehend them, nor reprove them for their offense.[21]

Not content with such harassment, the Puritans punished those Anglicans who refused to pay taxes toward the support of Congregationalism with imprisonment. The Reverend William Gibbs, an Anglican missionary in Simsbury, reported in 1749: "The [Congregationalists] do oblige them [Anglicans] to pay to the dissenting [Congregationalist] minister, and which they have refused, and for their refusal were, four of them, committed to Hartford gaol, and in a place where they keep malefactors." [22]

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[21] Quotation cited in Origen Storrs Seymour, *The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*. Connecticut Tercentenary Commission Publications, Number 30 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 3.

[22] Quoted in Seymour, *Beginnings of the Episcopal Church* . . . , p. 11. Such action was apparently in contradiction to the exemption from Congregational taxes that was granted by the Connecticut General Assembly to Anglicans, Quakers, and Baptists in the late 1720s. See McLoughlin, *New England Dissent*, 1:263–270.

In addition to securing the establishment of the Puritan Congregational Church and attempting to keep the colony free of dissenting sects, Connecticut's Puritan fathers, on behalf of their sense of mission, labored to keep their Wilderness Zion free from sin. Remembering that God's blessing would be maintained only if the colony heeded the Lord's admonitions, the Puritans sought to legislate sin out of existence, and thus prevent any manifestations of God's wrath. Hence came the Blue Laws.

While contemporary America would find disagreeable any diminution of individual liberty comparable to what was found in Puritan statutes, the laws themselves, as well as their application, were far less onerous than might be imagined. A great deal of the misunderstanding regarding the Blue Laws proceeds from an eighteenth-century history of Connecticut written by Samuel Peters, an Anglican priest in Hebron who was run out of the colony during the Revolutionary era because of his unrestrained Toryism. Peters described his unplanned departure from Connecticut in a letter to a friend:

> For my telling the Church people [Anglicans] not to take up arms, . . . the Sons of Liberty have destroyed my windows, rent my clothes, even my gown, crying down with the Church, the rages of Popery, etc.; their rebellion is obvious—treason is common—and robbery is their daily diversion: the Lord deliver us from anarchy.[23]

Peters had his revenge for such discomfort. When safely established in London during the Revolution, he wrote a furiously distorted history of Puritan Connecticut, drawing a slanderous account of life under the dreadful Blue Laws. According to Peters the people of Connecticut were daily subjected to banishment, confiscation, fines, whippings, losses of ears, burning of tongues, and death for the most trivial departures from the Puritan system. The historian Benjamin Trumbull, who knew Peters, dismissed the Hebron minister's "history" with the assertion: "Of all men with whom I have ever been acquainted, he is the least to be depended upon as to any matter of fact." [24] But in England, where Connecticut's stern Puritans did not have a

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[23] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 27.

[24] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 28.

good press to begin with, Peters's account of the Blue Laws seemed plausible, and the belief grew that Connecticut's founders and leaders had established a system which bristled with severity and brutality.

In truth, the legal code of England during the American colonial era was far more harsh than that which existed in Puritan Connecticut. Between 1603 and 1819 the number of offenses in England that brought the death penalty rose from 31 to 223. Englishmen could be executed for larceny above twelve pence, for killing a deer in the King's preserve, or for the theft of a horse. Hartford during the colonial period never had more than twelve capital crimes. Yet, even given the excesses of Peters's history and the fact that the English system was hardly a model of humanitarianism, it is nevertheless true that Connecticut's Puritan fathers did undertake a concerted attempt to control human behavior with a harshness that contemporary Americans find repugnant. New Haven's lawgivers led the way with a legal system based on the word of God. Almost every statute was backed up with Biblical reference, and the New Haven code was introduced by the assertion: "The Laws for holiness, and Righteousness, are already made and given us in the scriptures, which in matters moral or of moral equity, may not be altered by human power. . . ." [25] Sanctity of the Sabbath was emphasized:

> Whosoever shal profane the Lords day, or any part of it, either by sinful servile work, or by unlawful sport, recreation, or otherwise, whether wilfully, or in careless neglect, shal be duly punished by fine, imprisonment, or corporally according to the nature, and measure of the sinn, and offence. But if the court upon examination, by clear, and satisfying evidence find that the sin was proudly, presumptuously, with a high hand committed against the known command and authority of the blessed God, therein despising and reproaching the Lord, such a person, shal be put to death. . . .[26]

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[25] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 24.
[26] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, pp. 24–25.

Capital punishment was also established for adultery, sodomy, lesbianism, harlotry, rape, incest, bestiality, and withdrawal as a form of birth control.

Swearing was another practice frowned upon by the Puritan authorities. A ten-shilling fine was drawn for the first offense, and one of twenty shillings for the second. If the offender could not pay the fine, he was placed in the stocks for one to two hours for the first offense and for three to four hours for the second. "But if the same person, notwithstanding such former proceedings, shal offend the third time, by such swearing, or cursing, he shal be whipped, for his incorrigible profaneness." Long after the Puritan vigor in Connecticut had declined, such Blue Laws were still operative. P. T. Barnum, of later circus fame, told of a confrontation in the 1820s between one Crofut of New York—"a man of property, and equally noted for his self-will and his really terrible profanity" [27]—and a magistrate in the community of Bethel near New Haven:

> One day he [Crofut] was . . . engaged in conversation when Nathan Seelye, Esq., one of our village justices of the peace, and a man of strict religious principles, came in, and hearing Crofut's profane language, he told him he considered it his duty to fine him one dollar for swearing. Crofut responded immediately with an oath that he did not care a damn for the Connecticut blue-laws. "That will make two dollars," said Mr. Seelye. This brought forth another oath. "Three dollars," said the sturdy justice. Nothing but oaths were given in reply, until Esquire Seelye declared the damage to Connecticut laws to amount to fifteen dollars. Crofut took out a twenty dollar bill, and handed it to the justice of the peace, with an oath. "Sixteen dollars," said Mr. Seelye, counting out four dollars to hand to Mr. Crofut as his change. "Oh, keep it, keep it," said Crofut, "I don't want any change, I'll damn soon swear out the balance." He did so, after which he was more circumspect with his conversation, remarking that twenty dollars a day for swearing was about as much as he could stand.[28]

Although Connecticut's Puritan fathers were probably as unsuccessful in eliminating immorality as they were in cleansing the

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[27] Quotations cited in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 25.
[28] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 25.

vocabulary of people like Crofut, their efforts at combating sinfulness nevertheless continued. The Puritan Elect labored under the charge by Hooker that the "true convert" seeks to destroy all sin: "What ever sins come within his reach, he labors the removal of them, out of the familyes where he dwells, out of the plantations where he lives, out of the companies and occasions, with whom he hath occasion to meet and meddle at any time." [29]

Another responsibility of the Puritan Elect in the cause of their mission was to establish an adequate program of education for the colony's children. Believing that the only true source of God's will was the Bible, the Puritan colonies in America made a concerted effort to foster literacy. Just six years after the founding of Massachusetts Bay, the Bay Puritans in 1636 established Harvard College "to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the dust." [30] In 1647 the Massachusetts General Court enacted legislation which in its justification and outline served as a model for other Puritan colonies:

> It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading them from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers [it is ordered] that every township of this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all children as shall resort to him to read and write [and requires also] that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth as far as they may be fitted for the university.[31]

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[29] Quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 6.

[30] Quoted in Grob and Beck, eds., *American Ideas*, I, 79.

[31] Quoted in Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), p. 181.

Such pioneering educational efforts while communities were but tiny islands in a howling wilderness leads one to appreciate the assertion of Moses Coit Tyler in *A History of American Literature* regarding the Puritan communities in seventeenth-century New England: "Probably no other community of pioneers ever so honored study, so reverenced the symbols and instruments of learning. Theirs was a social structure with its corner-stone resting on a book." [32]

The Connecticut colony made comparable efforts to foil "that old deluder" and make certain that its population could understand the Bible. The Code of 1650 required a town of fifty families to employ a teacher to instruct in reading and writing and a town of one hundred families to operate a grammar school to prepare students for college. Subsequent legislation suggests that the towns were not taking their educational tasks with sufficient seriousness. The preamble to a 1690 law asserted that there were "many persons unable to read the English tongue." [33] The law went on to establish free schools in Hartford and New Haven to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, and Greek and ordered the towns to operate an elementary reading and writing school for six months a year. In 1700 the General Assembly established grammar schools in four county seats (Hartford, New London, Fairfield, and New Haven); required towns of seventy families to operate an elementary school the full year and smaller towns to operate such schools for six months yearly; and provided support of 40 shillings per £1,000 of the polls and estates. The towns could secure supplementary funds via gifts or taxation or by charging tuition. By 1717, when the society or parish rather than the town was the unit for schools, the General Assembly provided for an eleven-month school year for the larger parishes and a six-month school plan for the smaller ones. Finally in 1733 the Assembly, in an attempt to supplement school funds, added monies from the sale of western Connecticut lands to existing school revenues.

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[32] Quoted in McCarthy, *New England*, p. 140.

[33] Quoted in Albert E. Van Dusen, *Puritans Against the Wilderness: Connecticut History to 1763*, p. 103.

The mode of instruction in Puritan Connecticut was based on the assumption that the child, like all mankind since the fall in Eden, was born of God's wrath and hence was "a poor, wicked, miserable, hateful creature." [34] Because the natural impulses of the child were thought to be sinful, the pre-eminent function of education was restraint—there was "no question of developing the child's personality, or drawing out or nourishing any desirable inherent qualities which he might possess, for no child could by nature possess any desirable qualities." [35] Instruction was aimed at the inculcation of obedience "in point of good manners, and dutiful behavior towards all." Academic subjects were taught through rote memorization, and all education was based on limiting self-expression and promoting uniformity.

Central to the education system in the colony was the catechism—a summary of orthodox Puritan beliefs set in the form of questions and answers. The catechism, like rules for reading and writing, presented no opportunities for intellectual creativity. Drilled on "right" answers that were forever fixed, the child was schooled in the Puritan intellectual rigidity that was perhaps the natural corollary of the Puritan sense of uniqueness. Such a child grew to adulthood believing that God's writ was clear and bold and offered no conceivable justification for tampering. The Puritan child became a person who not only saw just the black and the white; he was intellectually incapable of recognizing that a gray might exist.

A comparable Puritan tone was characteristic of the education offered at the colony's college—Yale—founded in 1701 and finally settled in New Haven in 1717–1719. Supported by the General Assembly and by contributions from the affluent such as Elihu Yale (who had made a fortune in the employ of the East India Company and especially as governor of Madras), Yale demanded that "every student shall consider the main end of his study to wit to know God in Jesus Christ and answerably to lead a Godly sober life." Although the Yale student body was instructed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and physics, a student's life was ringed with prayer and meditation. In addition to "secret prayer wherein every one is bound to ask wisdom for himself," a student was required to be present "morning and evening at publick prayer in the Hall." [36] An even more strenuous regimen of prayers and services was required on the Sabbath, for which students prepared on both Friday and Saturday:

> All students after they have done resciting rhetorick on fridays recite Wolebius theology and on saturday morning they shall Rescite Ames theologie thesis in his Medulla, and on saturday evening the Assemblies shorter Chatechism in lattin and on Sabbath Day attend the explication of Ames's Cases of Conscience.[37]

On the Sabbath itself there were morning prayers at the college; two services at the meetinghouse on the New Haven Green; and then evening prayers back at the College.

The impact of such religiously oriented education was substantial in Connecticut because of the numbers of Yale men in positions of power in the colony. By the time of the Revolution there were almost one thousand Yale graduates in the colonies, two-thirds of whom not only resided in Connecticut but occupied key positions in the colony's power structure.

> In 1775, of the twelve members serving in the House of Assistants (upper house of Connecticut's legislature), eight were Yale graduates. The Colony Secretary was a Yale graduate, as were all of the judges of the county court. The General Assembly abounded with Yale graduates. On the local level, many served in such influential positions as moderator of the town meeting, town clerk or justice of the peace. Nearly one-half of the field officers of the Connecticut militia in 1775 were Yale graduates, as was the majority of the powerful Council of Safety.[38]

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[34] Quoted in Michael Zuckerman, "Socialization in Colonial New England" in Michael B. Katz, ed., *Education in American History: Readings on the Social Issues* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 29.

[35] Edmund Morgan, quoted in Katz, ed., *Education in American History*, p. 29.

[36] Quotations cited in Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 42.

[37] Quotation cited in Kelley, *Yale*, p. 42.

[38] Louis Leonard Tucker, *Connecticut's Seminary of Sedition: Yale College* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1974), p. 15.

But the true significance of Yale lay beyond its production of public officials; it molded the men who in fact ruled colonial Connecticut, the Congregational clergy. Contemporary Americans who relegate the clergy to performances on the Sabbath and on special occasions must labor to appreciate the immense power of the Puritan clergy in early Connecticut. Trained at Yale or occasionally at Harvard, these men were hard thinkers, good orators, skilled at exercising carefully the power they wielded, and most probably the best that Puritan society created. The Reverend Lyman Beecher has left us a picture of these clergymen and their power on Election Day:

> All the clergy used to go, walk in the procession, smoke pipes, and drink. And, fact is, when they got together, they would talk over who should be governor, and who lieutenant governor, and who in the Upper House, and their counsels would prevail. . . . The ministers had always managed things themselves, for in those days the ministers were all politicians, they had always been used to it from the beginning.[39]

The minister, however, was more to the town and the colony than simply a political manipulator who called the shots on Election Day. That he could in fact exercise such power was a reflection of his overall immersion in and significance to the society:

> At every occasion he was expected to be on hand ready with a prayer and a few profound remarks, whether it was the town meeting at the church or a dinner party at the deacon's. There was the routine of pastoral calls, funerals, and patriotic rallies. Before high schools came into existence, his mornings and evenings were taken up with tutoring boys for entrance to Yale, supplementing the learning that went beyond the scope of the schoolmaster. All travelers of distinction called at his door expecting an invitation for dinner or for the night. His bookshelves became a lending library until he organized one in the village. . . . The local pastor had knowledge of every phase of life. . . . It was from that orientation that his power grew. He was a man of vitality, stamina, and consequence.[40]

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39. Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, pp. 22–23.
40. Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, pp. 42–43.

Although he was indeed the central figure around which the affairs of the community revolved, the pastor assumed his most significant role on the Sabbath. During his Sunday sermon, the pastor was the community's newspaper columnist, TV star, and keeper of morals. While his sermon contained "erudite treatises on the wisdom of Isaiah, the acts of Jeroboam, and the teachings of Hosea," [41] there were also references to and judgments on local and colonial political doings, commentaries on economic news and prospects, and not altogether guarded references as to which members of the congregation were straining the Lord's patience by carousing, paying excessive attention to the upstairs maid, or "sharping" their neighbors in business transactions. But the main thrust of his sermon was always the statement and restatement of the Puritan concept of mission. For one hundred fifty years the Puritan Congregational clergy in Connecticut asserted that never in Puritan society was the inclination of the individual to take precedence over the aspirations of the community. Society, it was maintained, was not an aggregation of individuals but an organism in which all parts were subordinate to the whole. The individual had as his primary responsibility contributing to the success of the community's mission. He was to live within the confines of God's word, do that labor to which he was "called" by God, educate his children in the ways of the Lord, and, most important, adhere to the teachings and admonitions of his spiritual leaders. Told constantly that the erection and maintenance of "the City upon a Hill" was his basic obligation, the Puritan accepted his roles as defined by his ever present and seemingly all-knowing pastors.

The Congregational clergy's ability to maintain its influence in colonial Connecticut was a reflection of the fact that Connecticut, more than any place on earth during the American colonial period, approached the spirit and structure of the Wilderness Zion. While the original Puritan zeal in old England had long since become the victim of latitudinarianism encouraged by a theologically lukewarm Anglicanism, and the strident Calvinism of Massachusetts had deteriorated to a detectable secularism,

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41. Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 40.

Connecticut held scrupulously to the doctrines of Hooker's generation.

Connecticut's retention of an essentially undiluted Puritanism well into the eighteenth century emanated from the political and economic isolation of the colony. The charter granted by Charles II in 1662 had established Connecticut as a corporation with authority entrusted to an elected governor and the freemen. On the basis of the Stuart grant, Connecticut continued to chart its own political course as it had done since the settlement of the colony in the 1630s. While the British government periodically attempted to tighten its control, its efforts were usually isolated and unsustained. Except for Connecticut's brief inclusion in the Dominion of New England under Sir Edmund Andros from 1686 to 1689, the colony was a principal American beneficiary of the uncoordinated approach to colonial management that characterized London's policy between the reign of James II (1685–1689) and the accession of George III in 1760. Thus the Connecticut Puritan leadership functioned as a law unto itself and was able to maintain the structure of the Wilderness Zion without significant disturbance from Britain.

The colony's economic as well as political condition contributed to its dominant Puritanism during the greater part of the colonial period. The outstanding characteristic of the colony was its inability to conduct comprehensive direct trade with the mother country. Lacking an exportable product such as Massachusetts cod, Carolina rice, or Virginia tobacco with which to trade directly with England, and unable to import significant quantities of manufactured goods because of its limited market, Connecticut drifted through the colonial period relying generally on Boston and New York City for the marketing of its agricultural products and its purchases of foreign goods. While a number of Connecticut merchants such as Nathaniel Shaw of New London and Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon were able to conduct sizable mercantile operations with Great Britain, Connecticut as a whole never managed to become a member of the imperial trading community. The colony thus did not effect those social and intellectual ties with the mother country that would have been the natural concomitants of extensive trading within the structure of the British empire—and undoubtedly would have threatened the viability of Connecticut's Puritan system and atmosphere.

Therefore, while a member of an empire that stretched the globe and included some thirty colonies in America from Nova Scotia to Barbados, Connecticut functioned throughout the colonial period much like an independent republic.[42] Made up of isolated rural communities in which the local clergy and magistrates ruled according to Puritan principles, Connecticut was "cut off from very much contact with the outside world, knew little of [its] neighbors, less of other colonies, and almost nothing of what was going on in England or the Continent."[43] It was the only colony that generally did not follow English practices in its legislative proceedings nor allow a considerable amount of English common and statute law into its legal code. Its participation in four intercolonial wars with France between 1689 and 1763 was willing enough, but its leaders on four separate occasions resisted the orders of English commanders who sought troop integration and centralization of command.

Such were the values and institutions that characterized Puritan Connecticut during the colonial period. This environment, permeated by Puritan values, principles, and institutions, produced people who believed without question in the omnipresence of God in the disposal of man's fate. Life for the Connecticut Puritan was no succession of chance occurrences: it was the unfolding of God's will. Through personal gain, through personal failure, through family joys, through crushing family tragedies, and through the trials and tribulations of life in a primitive environment, the Connecticut Puritan's most distinctive characteristic was an unbreakable will, a rock-like ability to take what life gave without once doubting that all—pain and pleasure alike—was God's will.

Such people were tough-minded. They purged from their religious worship all that was soft and comfortable. As Harriet Beecher Stowe, a daughter of Litchfield, put it:

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[42] The following discussion of the characteristics of colonial Connecticut and its people owes much to Andrews, *Connecticut's Place, passim.*

[43] Andrews, *Connecticut's Place,* p. 18.

> They shut out from their religious worship every poetic drapery, every physical accessory that they feared would interfere with the abstract contemplation of hard, naked truth, and set themselves grimly and determinately to study the severest problems of the unknowable and the insoluble. . . . They never expected to find the truth agreeable. . . . Their investigations were made with the courage of the man who hopes little, but determines to know the worst of his affairs. They wanted no smoke of incense to blind them, and no soft opiates of pictures and music to lull them; for what they were after was *truth*, and not happiness, and they valued duty far higher than enjoyment.[44]

Essentially isolated from the rest of the Anglo-American world and living in a harsh, demanding environment, the Connecticut Puritan learned that there was no such thing as success achieved without effort. Land clearing, fence building, road construction, and constant care of fields and stock constituted the core of existence in an essentially agrarian society. The Connecticuter learned to dedicate himself to the task before him with a uniquely New England appetite for sustained labor. Whether he occupied a pulpit, anguished over the rocky New England soil, or bore the burdens of the mercantile maelstrom, the Connecticuter gave almost sacramental attention to his labors, knowing that the survival of his family and the salvation of his eternal soul were at stake.

The Puritan system in colonial Connecticut also produced a man who was accustomed to going his own way politically. His autonomy was challenged only occasionally, and then usually weakly, by the mother country. The Connecticut Puritan in his town meeting and General Assembly bore the responsibility of lawmaking, taxation, land distribution; in short, the entire range of duties necessary for the management of his society. Such responsibility naturally bred a spirit of self-reliance, an absolute detestation of "meddling" by outside forces or persons.

While this instinct for self-government would become a crucial force in the evolution of both Connecticut and the emerging American nation, it would also trigger a number of negative repercussions. For example, the autonomy of the towns and the colony gave rise to men of strong minds and contentious dispositions who were not much given to cooperative efforts. An atmosphere of censoriousness resulted in very little getting done. Men of strong opinions and angular personalities were rarely able to agree among themselves about anything, and the business of making roads and clearing rivers in colonial Connecticut went on very slowly. But it is crucial to understand that the Connecticut Puritan was not at his core a person who really cared much about "progress." The Connecticut Puritan's fundamental attitude toward "progress" was perhaps best described by Charles McLean Andrews, a distinguished colonial historian who taught at Yale from 1910 to 1931:

> [The Puritans] did not believe in change, much less progress, for men's material betterment was to them a matter of little consequence as compared with his spiritual welfare. They were troubled about their souls not their bodies . . . and preparation for the next world, not improvement in this one, was the lesson . . . impressed upon every individual. Earthly existence was a time of probation . . . and to pay attention to ameliorating the material conditions under which man lived and worked was to imperil the happiness that only the kingdom of Heaven could bestow. Comfort and enjoyment were but vanities and their pursuit was unbecoming in the sight of God.[45]

Puritanism had indeed left its mark on colonial Connecticut, producing tough-minded men and women who had an unparalleled appetite for sustained labor, were strongly self-reliant, were prone to rigidity in the assertion of their principles, and who were fundamentally suspicious of that which implied change or innovation. Such people, obviously conservative to the core, were predictably not very receptive to the winds of change that blew toward the American colonies from Great Britain in the early 1760s.

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[44] Quoted in McCarthy, *New England*, p. 32.

[45] Andrews, *Connecticut's Place*, pp. 33–34.

3

Revolutionary Connecticut

ONE of the most striking features of the Revolutionary era is the pettiness and factionalism that detracted from American unity. In the period between the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776 Americans ranted and raved at one another with almost as much fury as they vented toward the mother country. Americans assumed positions vis à vis England, abandoned them, and then accused other Americans of deserting the common cause. The situation changed little after the Declaration of Independence: many Americans reacted to demands of their state governments and of Congress much as they had reacted to those of King and Parliament before independence. Citizens suspected state governments; the state governments were fearful of congressional power; and Congress appeared terrified of the possibility of an emerging military aristocracy.

Worse still, many Americans appeared to regard the war as a tremendous opportunity for personal gain and recognition. Merchants had a field day capitalizing on the needs of the Continental and militia troops for meat, flour, grain, horses, and weapons. Shrewd traders cornered the market on urgently required materiel and then charged excessive prices. The records of the American Army reek with petty quarrels over rank, seniority, and promotions. High-ranking officers raged, pouted, schemed, and frequently resigned over minor slights.

The situation in Congress was no better. Its membership included embezzlers, profiteers, and speculators using secret information.

Given the existence of this apathy, greed, and vanity among Americans of the Revolutionary era, how did the American cause ever succeed? The British helped considerably, never recognizing that their task was nothing less than the conquest of a continent. By 1781, after six years of warfare, the British had only 34,000 men in America. Although such a force was sufficient to occupy a portion of the former colonies, it was less than capable of achieving victory. Moreover, the principal British commanders never fully used the military resources that they did possess. Pressing the Americans, assuming that a good blow would end it all, they kept waiting for the collapse that never came. Washington time and time again took the punches—Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown—covered up, and retreated to fight again.

British blunders alone did not decide the war. The aid of France was crucial. The French, delighted at the prospect of an independent America and thus a weakened British empire, poured aid into the rebelling colonies from the outset of hostilities. In the first two and a half years of the war, and especially after the Alliance of 1778, French aid mounted until by the end of the fighting Louis XVI had donated eight million dollars and more than 9,000 troops to the American cause.

And yet, while British weakness and mistakes and French aid were crucial elements in the achievement of American independence by the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the new nation's birth was ultimately brought about by its own men and women. Enough Americans sacrificed their time, their property, and not infrequently their lives so that succeeding generations could inherit the birthright of independence and liberty proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence. While all geographical areas gave to the Patriot cause these dedicated Americans who did not falter in the "times that tried men's souls," no state had a record of service more distinguished than that of Connecticut.

In the 1760s Great Britain attempted to ease its imperial bur-

dens in North America by passing a series of revenue-raising measures, including the Sugar Act of 1764, the Stamp Act of 1765, and the Townshend Duties of 1767. British officials undoubtedly assumed that the Americans, while perhaps not overjoyed with the legislation, would as loyal subjects of the mother country bend to Britain's judgment. If by chance American colonists protested excessively against the measures, the mother country, fresh from its recent victory over France and Spain and at the peak of its military might, could easily restrain any unseemly colonial conduct.

It was, of course, soon evident that the British had been tragically mistaken in assuming that the colonies would quietly accept the new legislation. Americans, growing strong economically and enjoying a population of a million and a half, were unwilling to see any of their traditions of self-government fade in the face of the newly assertive mother country. A storm of protest, mostly verbal but often physical, burst from the American side of the Atlantic, and powerful Britain found herself embroiled in a losing struggle to retain her hold on the aroused colonies.

Connecticut, rooted in Puritan hostility to Anglican England and conditioned by self-government and economic independence, was hardly inclined in the early 1760s to accept the new British legislation. Factors were at work at the end of the French and Indian War which would make it even more certain that Connecticut's response to the more energetic British colonial policy would be explosive. The colony had made a major contribution to the British victory in that war. Connecticut, seeking to protect its own security in the face of the threat posed by the French and their Indian allies, had spent almost £260,000 in the war effort and had sent five thousand men into battle. Indeed, one in five of Connecticut's males between the ages of sixteen and forty-five had seen service in the war years, a most impressive contribution—especially as the essentially agricultural colony needed as many men as possible to work the land.

Despite its praiseworthy military effort, however, Connecticut found itself in dire economic straits by 1764. While the

colony had done well economically during the war by selling its agricultural products to supply Connecticut militiamen and British troops, the end of hostilities had cut off this source of profit. Connecticut plunged into a severe depression. Farmers who no longer had a market for their products could not pay outstanding debts to merchants, who in turn were unable to meet their own obligations to importers of manufactured goods in New York, Boston, and Providence. Both farmers and merchants felt the pinch, and many farms and businesses were on the brink of bankruptcy. The colony could not have been expected to react positively to the news of the Sugar Act of 1764, which would make Connecticut trade with the West Indian sugar islands less profitable.

News of the legislation immediately brought sentiment to a boil. Merchants moaning that Connecticut trade was "embarrassed and Clogged" and farmers who were in debt for "all their Stock and half their Land" complained that the Sugar Act would cut off the last major source of trade left open to the colony. The *Hartford Courant* stated: "Our trade to the French and Spanish islands is stopped. . . . Husbandry is discouraged for there is no vent for that purpose. Merchants and farmers are breaking; and all things going into confusion." [1]

Mounting cries of distress brought prompt official protest of the Sugar Act by the colony. Governor Thomas Fitch, a Yale graduate from Norwalk who had become governor in 1754 after a distinguished legal career, sent to London a closely reasoned paper that noted the colony's economic distress and cited the Sugar Act as unjust. Fitch was concerned that the act, by forcing Connecticut merchants to trade with the British sugar islands, would abruptly cut off trade with the French sugar islands, a major source of specie. Fitch asked the British government if it were fair to satisfy the demands of the British West Indian planters for greater profit at the expense of the economic health of the northern mainland colonies such as Connecticut.

Britain, seemingly concerned only with its imperial and fi-

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1. Quoted in Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy*, pp. 46–47.

nancial interests, not only did not reconsider the Sugar Act but prepared to establish another revenue-raising operation with the Stamp Act of 1765. That act required that items such as licenses, newspapers, and legal documents carry stamps available only from the British government.

In a very short time, the Connecticut protest over the Stamp Act made the previous outcry seem insignificant. From throughout the colony protests poured into the General Assembly. A committee of the Assembly was set up to cooperate with Governor Fitch in the preparation of the colony's objections to the legislation. The committee's report, promptly approved by the General Assembly, set forth a position that was widely held throughout the American colonies in protests against the Stamp Act. First, the report noted that the proposed tax conflicted with the Englishman's traditional right to be taxed only with his consent. Since residents of Connecticut were not represented in Parliament, the British legislature could not enact taxation measures. Second, the report asserted that by the Charter of 1662 Connecticut's General Assembly was to be responsible for all necessary legislative enactments. Again, Parliament in Connecticut's eyes could not legally enact a measure such as the Stamp Act. Unfortunately for the future of Anglo-American relations, Britain, apparently growing weary of America's legal rhetoric, disregarded colonial protests and enacted the legislation in March 1765 with the provision that the tax go into effect the following November.

As swift packets from Britain and speedy riders from Boston and New York brought word to Connecticut in the spring of 1765 that the Stamp Act was to become law, the colony entered into a period of violent political disagreement. The stormy atmosphere was not caused simply by Connecticut's residents venting their wrath at the mother country and its latest measure; Connecticut's sons and daughters were ranting not at the mother country but at each other. News of the Stamp Act produced bitter debate over how the colony should respond to the new legislation. Opinion in the towns west of the Connecticut River was generally that Connecticut would have to resign itself to the Stamp Act. East of the river, however, the population was seething with outrage.

Governor Fitch's view was typical of that in western Connecticut. While Fitch had taken the position that it was proper for Connecticut to communicate its objections to the stamp legislation while the measure was being considered in London, he held that protest must cease once "the Parliament in their Superior Wisdom Shall Judge it Expedient and accordingly do pass an Act." [2] A similar stand, again typical of western Connecticut's leaders, was taken by Jared Ingersoll of New Haven. Ingersoll, an attorney who had been in London when the stamp bill was proposed and who had been charged to speak against it by Connecticut's General Assembly, finally concluded that the legislation would have to be accepted. In fact, reasoning that there would be less difficulty over the measure if Americans enforced it, Ingersoll had agreed before leaving London to serve as a stamp distributor for Connecticut.

While Fitch, Ingersoll, and other residents of western Connecticut were taking this reasoned, moderate stand on the Stamp Act, the towns of eastern Connecticut were exploding. The particular object of the area's wrath was Ingersoll. When the New Haven attorney returned from London to Connecticut in August 1765, the New London-published *Connecticut Gazette* commented on his decision to become a stampmaster:

> Have three hundred Pounds a Year, or even a more trifling Consideration been found sifficient [*sic*] to debauch from their Interest those who have been entrusted with the most important concerns by the Colonies? . . . No, you'll say, I don't delight in the Ruin of my Country, but since 'tis decreed she must fall, who can blame for taking part in the Plunder? Tenderly said! Why did you not rather say—if my father must die, who can accuse me as defective in filial duty, in becoming his Executioner, that so much of the Estate, at least goes to the Hangman, may be retained in the Family? [3]

The newspaper assault on Ingersoll seemed to encourage expression of even more violent sentiment throughout eastern Connecticut. The not-so-gentle citizens of New London, Norwich, Lebanon, and Windham led the way. A fiery demon-

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[2] Quoted in Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy*, p. 50.

[3] *Connecticut Gazette*, August 9, 1765.

stration took place in New London on August 22, 1765. Dr. Benjamin Church, active in Boston protests with James Otis and Sam Adams, sparked the crowd in a speech that condemned Ingersoll as an enemy to American liberty and advised that a delegation should interview the New Haven attorney to convince him of his error in accepting the stampmaster's post. The type of "interview" that Church had in mind was indicated after the oration when an effigy of Ingersoll was hanged from a tree while dancing children shouted: "There hangs a traitor; there's an enemy to his country." [4] Not to be outdone, crowds in Norwich and Windham enjoyed lusty protest meetings during which effigies of Ingersoll were objects of the people's wrath. Lebanon, however, was the eastern Connecticut community warmest in its denunciation of the Connecticut stampmaster. Ingersoll's effigy was tried and convicted by a jury, dragged through the streets while people lashed it with whips, and finally burned before a cheering throng.

That eastern and western Connecticut reacted so differently to the Stamp Act was in part a reflection of each section's historic relationship with the mother country. Western Connecticut had tended in the first half of the eighteenth century to lose the traditional Connecticut suspicion of England. The area had come to conduct substantial business enterprise with the royal colony of New York, and the Anglican Church had experienced rather surprising growth in western Connecticut as a result of heated controversies growing out of the Great Awakening. Thus when the imperial issue was drawn in the 1760s western Connecticut, although certainly not pleased by the taxes called for, was unwilling to repudiate London's leadership.

Eastern Connecticut experienced no such inhibition. Rural, economically underdeveloped, having little contact with London, the area reflected the Puritan Congregational Church's traditional hostility toward mother England. When Britain sought to tax America by the Sugar and Stamp acts, eastern Connecticut viewed the measures as fatal to American liberty. Western Connecticut's passivity in the face of the British legislation drove the already outraged easterners into frenzied protest.

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[4] Quoted in Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy*, p. 51.

Full understanding of the wrath that eastern Connecticut directed toward Ingersoll and Fitch in the summer of 1765 requires recognition that the easterners were reacting to more than a difference of opinion with the westerners on the imperial issue. The fury of eastern Connecticut was a reflection of the area's frustration at having its interests and plans torpedoed by western Connecticut for more than three decades.

One of the issues that had divided eastern and western Connecticut was paper money. As the seacoast towns of eastern Connecticut grew in the eighteenth century, merchants in the area found their operations impeded by a shortage of money. The problem was particularly acute for eastern Connecticut merchants who had long conducted their overseas trade through importing merchants in Boston, Newport, and New York and who were seeking to establish direct contacts with English traders to eliminate the costs of the middleman. Prospects of direct trade with England were dim as long as eastern Connecticut did not have sufficient funds to pay off outstanding debts to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York importers. The region's response to the situation was the formation in 1729 of the "New London Society for Trade and Commerce," which petitioned the General Assembly for the opportunity to issue bills of currency based on mortgages deposited with the company. If this operation were successful, eastern Connecticut would have an expanded supply of currency with which it could pay off past debts and purchase goods directly from Britain.

Western Connecticut, more populous than the towns east of the Connecticut River and thus more powerful in the colony's General Assembly, was successful in the 1730s in destroying the New London Society. Western representatives in the Assembly spoke out against the Society on the ground that the issuance of paper currency would be contrary to Britain's wish to keep paper money, so often insufficiently secured by hard money in the colonial period, out of circulation. More to the point was western Connecticut's unwillingness to stand by while merchants from eastern Connecticut grew strong enough to become substantial competitors. Eastern Connecticut consequently bore great and long-lasting resentment toward western representatives in the General Assembly.

Another element that disturbed relations between eastern and western Connecticut in the decades preceding the Revolution was the religious strife that grew out of the Great Awakening. That religious revival, which rolled through Connecticut in the 1730s and 1740s, brought serious division in the Puritan Congregational Church. The revivalists, called New Lights, attacked the cold formality of traditional Congregational preaching and introduced a personal spontaneity to eighteenth-century Connecticut Puritanism. The anti-revivalists, called Old Lights, were appalled by the "schreechings, faintings, visions, and convulsions" that characterized New Light worship; in 1743 they were strongly enough represented in the General Assembly to pass a measure that banned revivalist preachers from taking the pulpit in a congregation unless so permitted by the local minister. The ban on itinerant preaching only succeeded in enraging the New Lights, who then conducted a bitter pamphlet war on the Old Lights.

The New Lights were centered in the towns east of the Connecticut River, particularly in Windham and Lebanon, while the Old Lights were a majority in western Connecticut. Eastern Connecticut, as a rural and economically underdeveloped area, was fertile ground for the unrestrained emotionalism of the revivalists. Western Connecticut, populated by the more wealthy and aristocratic elements in the colony and influenced in a conservative religious direction by Anglican missionaries, regarded the emotional excesses of the Great Awakening as "disgusting Distortions of True Religious worship." Thus, as New Lights and Old Lights thundered at one another through the 1740s and 1750s, Connecticut's east–west conflict became more bitter.

A third issue that deepened the colony's sectional division was the territorial ambition of the Susquehannah Company. A principal result of Connecticut's population growth in the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as of wasteful agricultural methods, was a shortage of fertile land. In the period between 1730 and 1750 over 300,000 acres of land were gobbled up in Connecticut, and land companies were formed to obtain territory beyond the colony's borders. One of the most significant was the Susquehannah Company, which was formed in Windham in July 1753. Established by some of eastern Connecticut's most distinguished—and land-hungry—citizens, the company wished to use the sea-to-sea clause in the Connecticut charter of 1662 to claim land in Pennsylvania along the Susquehannah River.

The Penn family, alarmed by the prospect of the loss of a portion of the colony which it had held as a proprietary grant from Charles II since 1681, protested both to the Connecticut General Assembly and to London. Opposition to the Susquehannah Company also quickly formed within Connecticut. Leading citizens of western Connecticut, undoubtedly fearful that the success of the proposed settlement in Pennsylvania would result in lower prices for land in their area, lashed out at the founders of the Susquehannah Company. Asserting that the eastern Connecticut land company would succeed only in angering the Penns until the wrath of the mother country would fall upon Connecticut, the anti-Susquehannah faction opposed any step that would link the colony with the plan of the company. Although the Susquehannah project had little chance of receiving royal approval because of the opposition of the Penns, the company's supporters in eastern Connecticut and opponents in western Connecticut racked each other with bitter speeches and pamphlets.

Thus when the eastern Connecticut towns of Windham, Norwich, Lebanon, and New London lashed out at Jared Ingersoll in August 1765, the easterners were doing more than venting their displeasure at western Connecticut's "soft" position on the Stamp Act. Eastern Connecticut was expressing its accumulated frustration at having its plans for paper money, religious revivalism, and territorial expansion deflated by westerners such as Ingersoll. The easterners had tasted the ashes of defeat once too often; now they were determined to have their way regarding the Stamp Act and in the process to effect a political revolution in the colony.

A group of eastern Connecticut's most distinguished leaders came together in that summer of 1765 to organize themselves for the battle. Eliphalet Dyer of Windham, a lawyer and founder of the Susquehannah Company, and Jonathan Trumbull of

Lebanon, a leading merchant and official in the General Assembly since the early 1730s, joined with three militia officers who had seen service in the French and Indian War—Major John Durkee of Norwich, Captain Hugh Ledlie of Windham, and Colonel Israel Putnam of Pomfret. From their meeting came the Sons of Liberty. The organization was to seek two ends: to convince Connecticut's freemen that their liberties could only be secure if the colony's Tory western Connecticut leaders were repudiated and to organize the colony to elect "patriotic" leaders, who, by no accident whatsoever, were to be drawn from eastern Connecticut. The plan was carefully drawn, rapidly executed, and successful beyond the expectations of even the easterners themselves.

Having set their plan in motion by organizing the demonstrations against Jared Ingersoll, the Sons of Liberty moved ahead in September 1765 to eliminate the New Haven attorney as a respected political figure and to intimidate other moderates. As Ingersoll was on his way to a meeting of the General Assembly in Hartford called to discuss Connecticut representation at the Stamp Act Congress in New York, some five hundred Sons, all armed with clubs and staves and some dressed in militia uniforms, intercepted the stamp distributor in Wethersfield. The assembled throng demanded that Ingersoll then and there resign his post. When Ingersoll, a man of no little courage, angrily protested that it was not fair for easterners to dictate policy for the colony, the throng's leaders threateningly responded: "Here is a great many people waiting and you must resign." Faced with the likelihood of considerably more than conversation in the offing, Ingersoll read a letter of resignation the Sons of Liberty had prepared and then obliged the crowd by offering three cheers for "liberty and property." [5] Ingersoll's humiliation was completed when he was escorted into Hartford and forced by the crowd to repeat his performance within hearing distance of the assembled legislature. The Assembly, with the disheveled Ingersoll before it, satisfied the easterners by appointing delegates to the Stamp Act Congress.

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[5] *Connecticut Gazette*, September 27, 1765; *Connecticut Courant*, September 23, 1765.

Fitch was next on the easterners' list. While the governor had spoken out against the passage of the Stamp Act, he had also made it clear that he would fulfill his constitutional responsibility by taking the oath to uphold the Stamp Act that was required of all American governors. On October 31, 1765, when Fitch assembled the Council to administer the oath to him, the members from eastern Connecticut led by Dyer and Trumbull withdrew from the chamber in indignation, leaving Fitch the company of four westerners. Fitch then took the oath and by doing so sealed his political fate.

In the months that led up to the colony's next election in the spring of 1766, the Sons of Liberty conducted an untiring and vicious campaign to defeat Fitch and the four councilors from western Connecticut. The easterners expanded their organization throughout eastern Connecticut's towns and even penetrated the area west of the river. Exploiting the hard times that all Connecticut had been facing since the end of the French and Indian War, the Sons of Liberty asserted over and over that if Connecticut were to support leaders such as Fitch, the colony would not only lose its liberties but suffer economic devastation. Too, the Sons introduced into partyless Connecticut a ticket of their own, supporting William Pitkin of Hartford, a leading merchant and friend to "liberty," for governor and Jonathan Trumbull for deputy governor. Even though fierce American opposition moved the British to withdraw the Stamp Act of 1766, the easterners kept up their campaigning, always declaring that Connecticut would have to possess leadership willing to oppose any future British tyranny. The campaign paid off handsomely. Sweeping the eastern towns and picking up some support in western Connecticut, the Pitkin–Trumbull slate carried the day. Eastern Connecticut had pulled off a political upset.

The victory of the easterners in the election of 1766 was by far the most important single event in Connecticut history during the Revolutionary era. The election brought eastern Connecticut control of both the Council, the upper house of the Assembly, and the governorship; and that control was maintained throughout the entire Revolutionary Period. William Pitkin served as governor from 1766 until his death in 1769, and Jonathan Trumbull replaced him from 1769 until 1784. The sig-

nificance of eastern Connecticut's rise to political power was that it made certain that the colony would follow an unyielding Patriot line as the Anglo-American controversy deepened in the late 1760s and early 1770s. In essence, Connecticut made its choice between resistance and obedience to Britain in 1766; all that followed was but a result of that decision.

For example, when Parliament in 1767 enacted the Townshend Duties providing for British taxation on colonial imports, Connecticut's leadership in conjunction with the Sons of Liberty wasted no time in mounting protests. Governor Pitkin declared to Britain that while Connecticut had no desire to free itself from its relationship with the mother country, the colony had to protest the new duties as unconstitutional in light of Connecticut's charter-given privilege of being responsible for its own taxation. While Pitkin was satisfied with protests, the Sons of Liberty were not. They organized meetings in New London, Norwich, and Windham to draw up plans for the nonimportation and nonconsumption of British goods. By 1769 Connecticut's merchants were generally "educated" to respect the necessity of doing without the mother country's merchandise. Nonimportation and nonconsumption were also employed in other colonies, with the result that by 1770 the British had repealed all of the 1767 duties with the exception of that on tea.

The significance of eastern Connecticut's control of the colony's government can best be seen during the critical months between the Boston Tea Party in December 1773 and the outbreak of fighting at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. In the course of the period when the Anglo-American controversy exploded into warfare, the easterners led Connecticut unswervingly along the road to revolution.

The final stage in the imperial crisis began with Parliament's enactment of the Tea Act of 1773. Hoping to bail out the near-bankrupt British East India Company, Britain provided the company with a monopoly of the American tea trade. The colonists once again rose in protest at another indication of British insensitivity to American interests. The Sons of Liberty in the various colonies organized a boycott of tea, thus beginning the American reliance on coffee as the national drink. Ships carrying tea

were prevented from landing their cargo in American ports, and finally, on the night of December 16, 1773, John Hancock and Sam Adams organized the Boston radicals to dump East India Company tea in Boston Harbor.

When the Americans had mounted similar protests against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties, Parliament had retreated from a confrontation with the colonists by repealing the legislation. As George III frequently discarded prime ministers, the British government had been unable to establish a consistent colonial policy. By 1773, however, George III had firmly established Lord North as prime minister, and, with members of Parliament outraged by such a clear challenge to British authority as the Tea Party, Britain was ready to exert itself. The Coercive Acts of 1774 closed the port of Boston until the dumped tea was paid for, reorganized the government of Massachusetts so that the royal governor exercised virtual control, and ordered that Americans in violation of British trade regulations be tried in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they would not have the advantage of sympathetic American juries. Britain had drawn the line. Now the Americans would have to decide whether they would support their brethren in Massachusetts and by so doing further intensify controversy with King and Parliament.

With Governor Trumbull and the easterners in command, there really was no question about the course Connecticut would follow. Urged on by radical pamphlets and fiery meetings of the Sons of Liberty, the colony moved briskly to support the Patriot position. In May 1774 the General Assembly passed resolutions repudiating the Coercive Acts and promising aid for Boston. The same month the Assembly accepted an invitation from the Virginia legislature to establish a Committee of Correspondence to facilitate communication among Patriots throughout the colonies. Connecticut's committee soon afterward appointed Roger Sherman, Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane to represent the colony at the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September. By October the Assembly, preparing for the worst, ordered intensive training of militia and asked towns to double their supply of powder, ball, and flints. Early in 1775 Connecticut's towns ratified the action of the First Continental Congress that

called for the support of Massachusetts and for immediate nonimportation of British goods and nonexportation of American products to Britain and her possessions.

While Governor Trumbull and the General Assembly, reflecting the Patriot position of eastern Connecticut, were moving to support Massachusetts and resist the Coercive Acts, Connecticuters acted energetically to silence any Tory opposition. Those residents or visitors in Connecticut who were inclined to condemn the Patriot-Radicals for their "wild and licentious" activities felt the full brunt of popular and official denunciation.

Francis Green, a Bostonian who had pledged his loyalty to the mother country, made the almost fatal error of visiting radical Windham in July 1774. Local Patriots hauled a cannon to the door of the inn where Green was staying, suggesting that unless the visitor moved on, both he and the inn would be immediately restructured. A comparable experience was that of the Reverend Samuel Peters, an Anglican clergyman in Hebron who had antagonized the eastern-Connecticut radicals by his spirited attacks on the Sons of Liberty. In September 1774 a mob of three hundred led by the Sons forced Peters out on the Hebron Green, where he was made to retract his views.

Through all of this mob activity the hapless victims found that appeals to Governor Trumbull for "law and order" did little good. Trumbull, believing that "a man's right to protection by the state was qualified by his political opinions," [6] did not lift a finger to protect the assaulted Tories. When both Green and Peters wrote to him for protection, Trumbull replied that it was beyond his power to restrain people from doing what they considered to be their duty.

When, in January and February 1775, moderates in Fairfield and Litchfield counties joined together to assert their allegiance to the Crown, they too found Trumbull less than appreciative of their views. The governor went before the March 1775 session of the General Assembly to malign such Tories as "depraved,

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[6] Clifford J. Shipton, "Jonathan Trumbull," *Sibley's Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1951), 7:280.

malignant, avaricious, and haughty" and called for "Manly action against those who by force and violence seek your ruin and destruction." [7] The radical-dominated Assembly heeded Trumbull's call and passed legislation providing for the investigation of Toryism in western Connecticut. The westerners, thrown out of political power by the election of 1766, now found themselves forced into silence or hounded into New York by the easterners in political control of Connecticut.

Any possible remaining question of Connecticut's course in the imperial controversy evaporated the next month when word came of the clash at Lexington and Concord. As the "Lexington Alarm" spread throughout the colony, Connecticut moved unhesitatingly in support of the sturdy farmers who had tasted British steel. Some 3,600 men, Sons of Liberty and militiamen, drew their weapons and marched to join the Patriot force collecting at Cambridge. The patriotic—and immediate—response of Connecticut to the "Lexington Alarm" was to be characteristic of Connecticut's support of the American cause throughout the Revolutionary War.

Connecticut's contributions to the American victory were made possible by a number of factors. First, Connecticut, unlike such states as Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia, did not experience a Patriot–Tory conflict of any significance during the Revolutionary War. Connecticut's internal conflict in the Revolutionary era had taken place during the crisis over the Stamp Act in 1765–1766. With the eastern radicals' victory in the election of 1766, those who placed obedience to the mother country before the defense of American rights had little influence. Such persons, especially during the critical days of 1774–1775, were subjected to brutal assaults by the Sons of Liberty if they drank tea, failed to participate in days of patriotic fasting or thanksgiving, or actually spoke out against the American cause. Connecticut's Revolutionary generation was clearly not concerned with minority rights.

Once the war began, unofficial mob violence was replaced by state action. The General Assembly in 1775 and 1776 enacted

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[7] The Jonathan Trumbull Papers, 20/1:101a–101c, Connecticut State Library.

legislation providing for loss of property, imprisonment, or death for those who aided, joined, or sympathized with the British. Connecticut's Tories, many of whom were Anglican and almost all of whom were located in western towns such as Norwalk, Stamford, Fairfield, Ridgefield, Newtown, Danbury, Greenwich, Stratford, Redding, and New Haven, came to number some six percent of the adult male population (2,000 to 2,500 out of a total of 38,000 males). The state's Patriots were eager to search out traitors in their midst; Tories were quickly identified, disarmed, subjected to loss of property, and in some cases imprisoned. This process of neutralizing the Connecticut Tories was so swift and so complete that Loyalists had no opportunity to combat the tide and energy of the Patriot majority. Rather, the hapless Tory minority was forced into a grudging acceptance of the Patriot position or, if that could not be swallowed, into fleeing the state. It has been estimated that more than 1,000 Connecticut Tories did leave for the safety of the British forces in New York. Some wound up joining such British regiments as General Montfort Browne's Prince of Wales' American Volunteers, the Queen's Rangers, and Colonel Edmund Fanning's King's American Regiment. While these regiments were to play a role in British raids on Connecticut, such activity probably gave insufficient satisfaction to men who had lost their homes and their homeland—many of these Tories eventually left the United States and settled in England, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

In a sense the ease with which Connecticut's Tories were neutralized worked to their long-range advantage. Since there was no protracted Patriot–Tory conflict and since the Tories could not have served as a threat to the Patriot majority, by 1777 Governor Trumbull and the General Assembly adopted a softer position toward them. The General Assembly offered pardons to Tories who wished to return to Connecticut, and Trumbull provided compassionate treatment to many. Nine Tories held in Lebanon and Coventry were released upon giving bonds and assurances for their good behavior, and large numbers held in Stamford and Norwalk likewise were given freedom. A young Anglican divinity student successfully petitioned Trumbull for permission to journey to London to take holy orders, and a Connecticut Tory physician was given permission to move his family and possessions to the British lines in New York.

Another factor that enabled Connecticut to make a major contribution to American success during the Revolutionary War was the high degree of political stability that it enjoyed during the war years. As an essentially autonomous corporate colony in 1775, Connecticut did not have to go through a difficult period of political reorganization as did most of the emerging American states. In fact, the only action independence demanded from the General Assembly was a resolution of October 1776 that declared:

> The form of civil government in this State shall continue to be as established by Charter received from Charles the second, King of England, so far as an adherence to the same will be consistent with an absolute independence of this State on the Crown of Great Britain; and that all officers, civil and military, heretofore appointed by this State continue in the execution of their several offices, and the laws of this State shall continue in force untill otherwise ordered.[8]

Thus, Connecticut simply dropped all references to Great Britain and continued the representative government that had served its interests throughout the colonial period. Indeed, Connecticut not only did not reorganize her government during the Revolutionary era, but stuck to her traditional governmental framework until the adoption of a new state constitution in 1818.

Connecticut's political leadership and principles as well as its governmental framework remained stable during the Revolutionary War. The easterners who had come to political power as a result of the Stamp Act crisis had by the time of the war become Connecticut's new "Standing Order" of political respectability and power. Throughout the war years Jonathan Trumbull served as governor, Matthew Griswold as deputy governor, John Lawrence as treasurer, George Wyllys as secretary, and William Williams as speaker of the House of Represen-

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[8] Charles J. Hoadly and Leonard Woods Labaree, compilers, *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut, 1776–1784*, 5 volumes (Hartford: 1884–1943), 1:3.

tatives. These easterners stuck to those conservative, Puritan-rooted political principles that had been so evident in colonial Connecticut. While the easterners were "radicals" insofar as they took a hard line with respect to the government of George III, they were far from advocating political innovations that might have threatened the dominance of Connecticut's conservative Congregational order. Hence, while other states had their war effort seriously weakened by political reorganization or by controversies stemming from political innovations, Connecticut, enjoying a smooth transition from a colony to a state and maintaining its conservative orientation, could devote itself without serious distractions to aiding Washington's forces.

Finally, Connecticut's support of the Patriot cause during the Revolutionary War was greatly facilitated by its fortune in escaping British occupation. If Connecticut had experienced the prolonged presence of enemy troops, as did New York and Pennsylvania, clearly Connecticut would have been less able to contribute to Washington's victory.

As it was, Connecticut suffered damage from four British attacks during the Revolutionary War. In April 1777 Major General William Tryon, the royal governor of New York, led some 2,000 troops in an assault on Danbury to destroy supplies stored for the Continental Army. Tryon's forces easily pushed aside a militia unit of less than 200 men and set about burning and ravaging. Although Tryon's men were diverted by supplies of rum and bothered by a militia counterattack led by David Wooster and Benedict Arnold, they still were able before withdrawing to destroy 1,700 bushels of corn and 1,600 tents—provisions and materiel badly needed by the American forces.

The next British assault on the state came in February 1779 when Tryon led an attack on the saltworks at Greenwich. Even though Connecticut militiamen under the command of Israel Putnam drove off the attackers, Greenwich suffered damage later estimated at £6,000.

An even more destructive raid was that of July 1779 when the British commanded by General George Garth and Tryon struck at New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk. The enemy contingent of 3,000 swept through New Haven burning, looting, and destroying property valued at £14,000. In Fairfield the British put the torch to the town, burning over 200 buildings. The assault concluded at Norwalk, where the destruction included 2 churches, 40 shops, 130 homes, flour mills, saltworks, almost 100 barns, and 5 ships.

While the first three British attacks brought considerable destruction of property and provisions in Connecticut, they generally did not involve much loss of life. This was not true, however, of the last British assault on Connecticut during the Revolutionary War. With close to 2,000 men under his command, Connecticut-born Benedict Arnold raided New London and Groton in September 1781. Whether because of the British hatred of New London as a nest for privateers, the bitterness of Arnold toward his renounced homeland, or the circumstances of the battle, the episode was one of the bloodiest of the war.

The New London–Groton area was guarded by two forts—Trumbull on the New London side of the Thames River and Griswold on the Groton side. Arnold himself led the attack on Fort Trumbull, which, with its small detachment of men, fell quickly. Griswold, however, proved to be a much more formidable objective. There, some 150 Americans under Colonel William Ledyard held off a British attack force of over 800. Using cannon fire and the fort's stone walls to their advantage, the American defenders inflicted heavy casualties before Griswold was finally carried by a slashing British bayonet charge. Then, as Ledyard surrendered his sword, he was run through by one of the enemy officers. This began an orgy of bloodletting during which the British soldiers, apparently inflamed by the losses they had suffered, massacred over eighty of the surrendering Americans, including those who were wounded.

While Benedict Arnold had played no role in the butchery at Griswold, he was responsible for the catastrophe that was taking place at the same time on the opposite shore. As they set ablaze ships and warehouses, Arnold's forces began fires that ravaged the town. By the time the blaze was brought under control, New London had lost sixty homes, thirty stores and warehouses, eighteen shops, twenty barns, and a dozen public buildings.

The massacre of the surrendering troops at Fort Griswold and

the burning of New London were bitter enough events in themselves, but the episode was particularly maddening to Connecticut citizens because of the involvement of the despised Benedict Arnold. Public indignation in Connecticut had not yet subsided at the news that Arnold had turned traitor by attempting to turn over the American fort at West Point to the British. Now Connecticuters were even more inflamed as Arnold completed his descent into dishonor by leading the vicious assault on New London. It is little wonder, therefore, that few in Connecticut—then or even now—have been able to view Benedict Arnold with objectivity.

Given the facts of his life, Arnold's treason can perhaps be understood, if not condoned. Born in Norwich in 1741, Arnold spent a boyhood troubled by a bankrupt and drunken father and a mother who sent the boy to be raised by cousins. These circumstances apparently made Arnold a bitter man—one who attempted to gain success as an adult as compensation for the emotional deprivations of his youth. Throughout his life he was willing to sacrifice all to satisfy his ambition. As one of his critics said early in the Revolutionary War: "Money is this man's god, and to get enough of it he would sacrifice his country." [9]

As a young man, Arnold operated an apothecary's shop in New Haven and was involved in trading ventures with Canada, the West Indies, and Central America. His commercial interests led him to resent the British legislation of the 1760s, and he therefore became a member of radical political circles. Just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Arnold was made a captain of a militia company organized in New Haven as the "Governor's Second Company of Guards."

At the start of the war, Arnold—short, dark, and powerfully built—assumed his military duties with energy and fearlessness matched by few American commanders. In May 1775 he shared command with Ethan Allen of a Connecticut–Massachusetts–Vermont force that captured Fort Ticonderoga, a crucial outpost on the Lake Champlain route to Canada. Shortly afterward, as a colonel in the Continental Army, Arnold played a leading role in an American offensive action against Canada. Although Arnold's thrust at Quebec did not succeed, he won the praise of Washington by leading a heroic march through the Maine woods during which he kept his troops moving although they were reduced at one point to eating meals of boiled moccasins and a gruel of shaving soap. By 1777, now a brigadier general, Arnold was visiting his family at New Haven when Tryon made his attack on Danbury. Upon hearing of the British thrust, Arnold helped mobilize the militia to complicate Tryon's withdrawal. Although he had two horses shot from under him, Arnold gave no quarter—a performance that shortly afterward led Congress to promote him to major general. By the fall of 1777 Arnold was at Saratoga as General John Burgoyne led his troops toward Albany. Despite the fact that he had been deprived of his command by Gates for insubordination, Arnold entered the battle at a crucial point and succeeded in leading the American troops through Burgoyne's entrenchments.

In spite of his battlefield glories, his promotions, and an appointment as commandant of the city of Philadelphia, by the late 1770s Arnold was a badly frustrated man. His military career had been damaged by quarrels with fellow officers and by charges that he had used his Philadelphia command to aid him in various personal financial schemes. Moreover, a series of war wounds had left him a cripple with one leg shorter than the other—a condition which the always vain Arnold found unbearable. Finally, finding himself unable to satisfy the social aspirations of his second wife—the beautiful, restless Peggy Shippen of Philadelphia—Arnold proved vulnerable to the blandishments of the British. His unsatisfied ambition led him to exchange loyalty to his nation for a payoff of £6,000 and a commission as brigadier general in the British Provincial Army, an arrangement that won for him the curses of every Connecticut Patriot. Even though Connecticut was inflamed by the Benedict

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[9] John Brown, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts—a patriot leader and Revolutionary War officer who clashed with Arnold at Ticonderoga and at Quebec. Quoted in Willard M. Wallace, "Benedict Arnold: Traitorous Patriot," in George A. Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1964), p. 179.

Arnold-led attack on New London and Groton, this raid did no more than the previous ones to seriously weaken the state's ability to contribute to Washington's victory.

Connecticut's war effort was guided by Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon. Born in 1710 to one of Lebanon's leading merchants, Trumbull was prepared for the Congregational ministry by study with a local clergyman and by attending Harvard College. After his graduation from Harvard, however, Trumbull joined his brother and his father in the family mercantile business, and when his brother was lost at sea in the early 1730s during a trading voyage to Barbados, Jonathan Trumbull took on ever increasing business responsibilities.

Trumbull's turning from the pulpit to the marketplace apparently caused him little regret. He assumed mercantile and later political responsibilities with extraordinary energy and dedication, and in the decades leading up to the Revolution Jonathan Trumbull emerged as one of Connecticut's most prominent citizens. He greatly expanded the family business to include commercial operations in Nova Scotia, Britain, and the West Indies. He won as his bride Faith Robinson of Duxbury, Massachusetts, a beauty whose family was descended from no less than Priscilla and John Alden.[10] Their home became the center of Lebanon's social life, and Trumbull involved himself in the founding of the Philogrammatican Society of Lebanon, one of the earliest American non-academic libraries.

Trumbull's record of achievement in Connecticut public life in the decades before the Revolutionary era was unequaled. He served in one of the two houses of the General Assembly in almost every year from the mid-1730s to the mid-1760s; represented Connecticut in intercolonial conferences during King George's War (1744–1748) and the French and Indian War (1765–1763); served as a justice in the colony's county, probate, and superior courts; and was appointed a colonel in the Twelfth Connecticut Regiment. A leading force in eastern Connecticut's surge to political power in the 1760s, Trumbull became deputy governor in 1766 and governor in 1769.

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[10] The couple had six children, three of whom played important roles in eighteenth-century America. Joseph (1737–1778) served as the Commissary-General of the Continental Army from 1775 to 1777. Jonathan, Jr. (1740–1809), during the Revolutionary War was Pay Master of the Northern Department (1775–1778), Comptroller of the Treasury (1778–1779), and secretary to General Washington (1781–1783) and afterwards was a United States congressman (1789–1794), senator (1794–1797), and the governor of Connecticut (1797–1809. John Trumbull (1756–1843) saw service in the Revolutionary War at Dorchester Heights (1776), at Crown Point and Ticonderoga (1777), in Pennsylvania (1778), and in Rhode Island (1777 and 1778). Subsequently his celebrated paintings based on Revolutionary War scenes came to constitute a landmark in the evolution of American painting.

As Connecticut's governor in the Revolutionary era, Trumbull, obviously influenced by his theological background, viewed the Anglo-American conflict in strikingly religious terms. America was, to his mind, the most potent instrument of the divine will in achieving Christianization of the world. America was to be a just and humane society that by its existence would demonstrate to mankind that salvation could be gained if only the will of God were followed. Americans since the generation of Winthrop and Hooker had succeeded in meeting their obligations to the divine will. They had evolved with God's blessing a fruitful society in which attention to labor and His word had brought a free and satisfying life. Yet at the moment when America, this "City upon a Hill," was reaching maturity, the Lord's enemies had struck. The hosts of Satan, in the form of British statesmen, had attempted to corrupt and debase this pristine society; by so doing they were testing the will and determination of God's chosen to adhere to their mission. If Americans allowed British tyranny and corruption to emerge triumphant, God's will would once again have been spat upon by the forces of evil, who would delight in glorying in the vice and squalor that they regarded as the proper characteristics of man's existence.

Functioning on the basis of such a Puritan-oriented political outlook, throughout the war era Trumbull associated the cause of American nationhood with that of the realization of God's plan for the salvation of mankind. In June 1776 Trumbull interpreted the struggle to the freemen of Connecticut thus:

> The Race of Mankind was made in a State of Innocence and Freedom, subjected only to the laws of God. . . . But through

> Pride and Ambition, the Kings and Princes of the World, appointed by the People the Guardians of their Lives and Liberties . . . degenerated into Tyrants. . . . An unnatural King has risen up—violated his sacred obligations, and by the Advice of evil Counsellors, attempted to wrest from us, their Children, the sacred Rights we justly claim, and which have been ratified and established by solemn compact with, and ratified by, his Predecessors.[11]

In calling out the Connecticut militia for service in New York some two months later, his proclamation had the ring of Old Testament verses:

> Be roused therefore and alarmed to stand forth on our just and glorious cause. Join yourselves to . . . the companies of militia now ordered to New York. . . . Stand forth for our defence. Play the man for God, and for the cities of our God. May the Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, be your Captain, your Leader, your Conductor and Saviour. . . .[12]

For Trumbull there could be no compromise with the forces of evil. The British came to represent unadulterated darkness and corruption. Describing their conduct before the evacuation of Boston, he said: "Burning and destroying our towns, robbing our property, trampling on . . . places dedicated to divine worship and service, and cruel treatment of the persons so unhappy as to fall into their hands, are injuries of the first magnitude. Every subtle art, as well as arms, are used against us." [13]

If Trumbull was convinced that the enemy represented evil, he was just as certain that the ultimate design of God was the victory of American arms. Writing to the Connecticut delegates in Congress in July 1775 he advised them "to have your eyes upon the supreme director of Events for protection and Defence. He is good, He is a stronghold in the day of Trouble, He goes with them that put their trust in Him." [14] After Washington's

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[11] Quoted in Shipton, "Jonathan Trumbull," pp. 285–286.

[12] Quoted in I. W. Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senior, Governor of Connecticut* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1859), pp. 268–269.

[13] Quoted in Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 261.

[14] Jonathan Trumbull to Roger Sherman, Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane, November 7, 1775, Box 3, Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers, The Connecticut Historical Society.

defeat in the Battle of Long Island in August 1776 when gloom and hopelessness characterized the American cause, Trumbull never doubted that the Lord would rescue America. In a proclamation issued in September 1776 he encouraged his fellow citizens "to supplicate for his Mercy, for Wisdom and Direction . . . so the free and independent States may be radicated, confirmed, established, built up, and caused to flourish, and to become a Praise in the whole earth." [15]

Although he was sixty-five years old in 1775, Trumbull emerged as the heart and soul of the Connecticut war effort. The aged governor turned his former store in Lebanon into the War Office, where he met between 1775 and 1783 with his Council of Safety—a committee of the General Assembly to deal with war matters. Day after day, through news of military defeat, financial chaos, and political confusion at Philadelphia, he sat at his battered desk in the War Office and turned out the directives, and occasionally pleas, that kept the Connecticut war effort functioning until ultimate victory was achieved. He came to be something of a comic figure to the sophisticated French who passed through Lebanon during the War. Remarks were made about the short, unimposing governor whose conversation was saturated with biblical exhortations. But the smiles never lingered very long, for this Old Testament patriarch never appeared anachronistic when the time came for performance. His quotas were very nearly always filled on time. He was the man to whom Washington turned when the shaky Continental Army was on the point of dissolution. In time, as the French came to appreciate the man's total commitment to victory, it was said that "when Louis XV asked Vergennes at Constantinople to send the Sultan's head, Vergennes replied that it would be a very delicate and difficult matter but would nevertheless send the head; Trumbull would not have even discussed the difficulty involved; he would have just sent the head." [16]

Trumbull's contributions to the American cause are perhaps

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[15] Quoted in Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 273.

[16] Quoted in Forrest Morgan, "Jonathan Trumbull—The Evolution of an Administrator," *Americana* 7 (March 1912):247–248.

even more impressive in light of the succession of personal tragedies that he experienced during the war years. His first—and most tragic—loss was that of his first-born daughter, Faith. Born in 1743, she had been educated at a private school in Lebanon and then had been sent to Boston to complete her studies. Faith added to the family's social position by becoming the bride of Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, one of eastern Connecticut's most eligible bachelors. The social and political prominence of the Huntington family was based upon the accomplishments of Jedediah's father, Jabez. The elder Huntington was a Yale graduate (1741) who made a fortune in the West India trade and went on to become a major political figure in Connecticut. Jedediah graduated second in his Harvard class of 1763. He then assisted his father in the family business until he devoted more and more of his time to political questions, becoming one of the most staunch eastern Connecticut Whigs by the late 1760s and early 1770s. Jedediah Huntington developed into a first-class officer during the Revolutionary War and put together an impressive record of service. Faith Trumbull Huntington, however, was not to live to share the honors accorded her husband.

The Trumbull family correspondence indicates that Faith was ill in 1775. Governor Trumbull wrote to his son Joseph, the Commissary-General of the American Army, in October 1775 to request that Huntington, a colonel of the 20th Regiment of Connecticut Militia, be relieved for a few days of his duties with Washington's army outside Boston so that he could visit Faith. It appears that Huntington did make it home to see her, but she died on November 24, 1775. The circumstances of Faith's illness and death are difficult to understand precisely; the only information available is the following excerpt from the autobiography of John Trumbull:

> About noon of that day [June 17, 1775, the day of the Battle of Bunker Hill] I had a momentary interview with my favorite sister, the wife of Colonel Huntington. . . . The novelty of military scenes excited great curiosity throughout the country, and my sister was one of a party of young friends who were attracted to visit the Army before Boston. She was a woman of deep and affectionate sensibility, and the moment of her visit was most infortunate. She found herself surrounded, not by "the pomp and circumstances of glorious war," but in the midst of all its horrible realities. She saw too clearly the life of danger and hardship upon which her husband . . . had entered, and it overcame her strong, but too sensitive mind. She became deranged, and died the following November. . . .[17]

One of Jonathan Trumbull's biographers, the great-great grandson of the governor, states that Faith took her own life, but the assertion is not supported by any documentation.[18] Faith must have been a person susceptible to emotional distress who suffered a severe psychological trauma while viewing the carnage of battle. The experience may well have so disturbed her that she suffered a state of depression which culminated in her suicide.

As tragic as was the death of Faith, no matter what the exact circumstances, it was only the first of the family's afflictions during the war years. Before Jonathan Trumbull could have adjusted to the loss of Faith, he was faced with the illness and death of his son Joseph. The eldest Trumbull son, a merchant, had enjoyed substantial public recognition in the 1760s and 1770s. He had served in the Connecticut General Assembly (1767–1773), had been a member of the colony's Committee of Correspondence (1773), and was chosen to represent Connecticut as an alternate delegate at the First Continental Congress (1774). On the basis of his mercantile experience and his public record, he was appointed by the Assembly in April 1775 to serve as the Commissary-General of the Connecticut troops assembled near Boston. He was so successful in this capacity that with Washington's urging the Continental Congress appointed him Commissary-General of the American Army on July 19, 1775. Although Joseph Trumbull's efforts as Commissary-

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[17] Theodore Sizer, ed., *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull: Patriot-Artist, 1756–1843* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 21.

[18] Jonathan Trumbull, *Jonathan Trumbull: Governor of Connecticut, 1769–1784* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1919), pp. 175–176.

General were recognized,[19] the task was fraught with endless difficulties. Transportation was laborious and uncertain; purchasing was impeded by a constant shortage of funds, state embargoes, and wildly fluctuating currency values; and agents of the Continental Commissariat often found themselves in competition for provisions with state agents. In addition to constant complications occasioned by these difficulties, Joseph Trumbull experienced a particularly bitter clash with General Philip Schuyler in 1776 over the prerogative of the Commissary-General in supplying the Northern Army.

While Trumbull's position in the controversy was ultimately supported by both Washington and Congress, he decided to resign his position in the spring of 1777 when Congress put into effect a scheme for the reorganization of the Commissariat that Joseph thought unworkable. Congress had decided to reorganize the commissary department by creating two commissaries-general, one of purchases and the other of issues. Trumbull thought this foolish but was especially angered by the additional provision that deputy commissaries were to be appointed by and made responsible to Congress. He wrote to General Washington: "In my humble opinion the head of every department ought to have the control of it. . . ." In explaining his resignation to Washington, he concluded by saying: "It never shall be said that I was the first American pensioner. I am willing to do and to suffer for my country and its cause, but I cannot sacrifice my honor and principles." [20]

Joseph Trumbull's resignation as Commissary-General did not signify any unwillingness to continue to shoulder public responsibilities, for in November 1777 he accepted an appointment to the Board of War. But his tenure as Commissary-General had so shattered his health that when he was stricken with a cold in the winter of 1777–1778, he underwent a physical decline from which he was not to recover. By February 1778 he had experienced paralysis of his left side and was suffering from jaundice. Although he appeared to be recovering during the summer from his afflictions, Joseph Trumbull had a relapse and died on July 23, 1778.

A final personal loss that Jonathan Trumbull had to bear during the war was the death of his wife. By the late 1770s, in her sixties, Faith Robinson Trumbull began to suffer from a dropsical affliction that finally took her life on May 29, 1780. She had been not only an affectionate wife and mother, but a woman who had understood and bound herself to the nation's cause for which her husband and sons were laboring. During the Revolutionary War she was a tireless worker on behalf of Connecticut troops and their families. She supported charities, instituted clothing drives, and encouraged soldiers' wives to bear the burdens of loneliness and economic deprivation. It was said that during one of the clothing drives, she inspired others by contributing to the cause "a magnificent scarlet cloak" that had been given to her by Count Rochambeau. The death of Faith Robinson Trumbull deprived Trumbull of a loving and philosophically compatible mate.

Despite these tragedies, Trumbull was throughout the war years a strong, competent statesman who successfully bore the burdens of wartime administration, and who in the process came to be viewed by his contemporaries as one of the most potent instruments in the achievement of American independence.

Trumbull and Connecticut were especially important during the war in supplying Washington's troops. The Connecticut, Housatonic, and Thames river valleys produced large crops of corn, rye, wheat, oats, barley, flax, vegetables, and fruit, and the hillsides of the northeast and northwest sections of the state were excellent grazing lands for cattle, horses, mules, and sheep. Connecticut put together a superior commissary staff under the leadership of such men as Joseph Trumbull, Elijah Hubbard, and Jeremiah Wadsworth. Overcoming poor roads, exposure, uncertain pay, and bitter conflicts with Continental agents, the agents and teamsters of Connecticut's Commissariat proved equal to almost every demand.

At the beginning of the war the Connecticut General Assem-

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[19] Washington was especially enthusiastic regarding the performance of Joseph Trumbull. See John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 volumes (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933–1944), 5:192.

[20] Joseph Trumbull to George Washington, July 19, 1777, The Governor Joseph Trumbull Collection, 5:493, Connecticut State Library.

bly adopted a ration schedule for state troops that was later to serve as a model for the Continental Commissariat. Each soldier was to be provided daily with three quarters of a pound of pork or one pound of beef, one pound of bread or flour, and three pints of beer. In addition, each man was to be supplied with "one jill of rum per day" along with milk, molasses, soap, candles, vinegar, coffee, chocolate, sugar, tobacco, onions, and other vegetables. Each week's ration also included a half-pint of rice or a pint of corn meal, six ounces of butter, and three pints of peas or beans. Connecticut had apparently learned well that an army does indeed travel on its stomach.

The Connecticut system of supply was also exceptionally efficient in providing clothing for state troops in the militia and the Continental regiments. The excellence of the state's efforts was demonstrated throughout the war, but it was especially apparent during Washington's terrible winter at Valley Forge in 1777–1778. More than two thirds of Washington's troops were practically barefoot, and thousands went without blankets in the dead of winter. In March 1778 Washington wrote Governor Trumbull: "Among the troops unfit for duty and returned for want of clothing, none of your State are included. The care of the legislature in providing clothing . . . for their men is highly laudable, and reflects the greatest honor upon their patriotism and humanity." [21]

The recognition that Connecticut received during the Revolutionary War as the "provisions state" was really not accorded on the basis of the state's everyday supplying of troops. Rather, Connecticut was recognized for its distinguished logistical effort in coming to the rescue of the American forces on two critical occasions. While many factors contributed to the American troops at Yorktown in October 1781 being in a position to sing "The World Turned Upside Down" while the troops of Cornwallis stacked their arms, not the least was the service that Connecticut provided to the American cause at crucial stages in the war.

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[21] George Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, March 3, 1778, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Fifth Series, 10 (1888):111–113.

The winter of 1777–1778 has been called the Gethsemane of the American Army. Although the American victory at the Battle of Saratoga had had a favorable impact upon the court of Louis XVI, the American Congress sat for months without hearing from its commissioners in Paris whether France had agreed to become an ally of the United States. The so-called "Conway Cabal" was flourishing as members of Congress were disgruntled with Washington's showing at Brandywine and Germantown and Howe's subsequent occupation of Philadelphia. Finally, the American Army was in the process of disintegrating. After starting the campaign of 1777 with almost 10,000 troops, Washington wound up wintering at Valley Forge with a bleeding army of 3,000. The American Commissariat had broken down; Washington received supplies of food and clothing only irregularly, and because Valley Forge was located in a region that the previous campaign had cleansed of cattle and grain, Washington's troops endured an unprecedented trial by cold and hunger.

Housed in crude huts that were wracked by snow, wind, and rain, the troops huddled together around smoky fires. Few of the men had anything resembling adequate clothing. Lafayette described their plight: "The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts nor shoes; their feet and legs froze until they became black and it was often necessary to amputate them." Hunger added to the torture of the troops. On December 20, 1777, it was reported that the men had been without bread for three days. Through January and early February Washington tried to keep his army fed by sending out foraging parties and writing desperate appeals to Congress. The Virginian apparently had little luck, for in February 1778 he wrote: "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in the camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh and the rest three or four days." [22]

Under these conditions of exposure and hunger it is not surprising that disease swept through the American ranks. Typhus

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[22] Quoted in Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, 2 volumes (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), II, 545, 549.

was the principal scourge. With few physicians, less medicine, and no food to strengthen the stricken men, the troops were decimated by disease. Ill men were placed on dirty straw mats in huts and tents while the few helpless physicians watched them die. Of some 1,500 men hit by typhus, 550 died. A physician reported that he had "known four to five patients die on the same straw before it was changed." [23]

With his men hungry, cold, and overcome with typhus and the American Army literally dissolving before his eyes, in early February 1778 Washington sent urgent appeals for food to state governors such as Clinton of New York, Livingston of New Jersey, Read of Delaware, Johnson of Maryland, Henry of Virginia, and Trumbull of Connecticut. While each of these governors made a contribution to the maintenance of Washington's army during its time of crisis, no man labored more diligently than did Trumbull.

After meeting with his advisors in Lebanon, Trumbull delegated to one of the Connecticut commissaries, Colonel Henry Champion of Colchester, the task of collecting cattle to be driven to Valley Forge. Champion set out from Lebanon to round up as many head as possible throughout eastern Connecticut. Aided by endless dispatches from Trumbull to farmers, Champion was able to collect a large herd at Hartford. Then Champion and his son Epaphroditus began the long trek to Valley Forge. Moving into New York, crossing the Hudson at King's Ferry, passing through upper Jersey and over the Delaware, the herd finally reached the famished troops west of the Schuylkill. That Washington's troops were in dire straits at the time is clear: the entire herd was devoured within five days of its arrival. Epaphroditus Champion was said to have remarked that the beef had been eaten so thoroughly that "you might have made a knife out of every bone." [24]

Through the winter and spring of 1778 herd after herd of Connecticut cattle was driven to Valley Forge under the direction of Trumbull and Champion. These provisions, along with emergency shipments from New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, were the crucial element in maintaining the American Army through spring, when the reorganization of the Commissariat made possible regular provisioning of Washington's troops. Bitter though the experience of the American troops at Valley Forge was, the army nevertheless survived its trial of hunger and cold, and in the spring of 1778 Washington was ready once again to fight in the cause of American independence.

The logistical problems of the American Army were, however, far from over. Indeed, by 1780 Trumbull and Connecticut were again called upon to rescue Washington's famished troops. While the winter at Valley Forge is often portrayed as the nadir of the American troops in the Revolutionary War, the winter of 1780 at Morristown, New Jersey, may have been an even more taxing period. The Commissary Department through the last half of 1779 went through various alterations. An attempt to establish a committee of Congress to oversee the limping operations of the Commissariat, and varying purchasing efficiency in the states, resulted in a bureaucratic tangle that brought provisioning almost to a complete halt. Washington had picked Morristown as the site of his winter encampment, as he had in the previous year, because of its accessibility from both the South and New England. Washington expected substantial supplies from the South for the winter but sought to remain near crucial Hudson Valley fortifications. Morristown selected, Washington began to move in for the winter in December 1779.

From the beginning, the Morristown sojourn was a disaster. Little preparation had been made to shelter the troops before their arrival, and the poorly provisioned men had to set to work to build log huts. The enterprise was made more complicated by the weather. The winter of 1778–1779 at Morristown had been a relatively mild one; that of 1779–1780 was terrible. By the time the troops arrived in camp there was already two feet of snow on the ground. On January 3, 1780, when the huts were little more than half completed, the worst blizzard of the century hit

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[23] Quoted in Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, II, 546.

[24] Quoted in Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 367.

the area. As bitter, cold winds lashed the camp, drifts mounted to six feet. In desperate straits once again, Washington wrote Trumbull from Morristown on January 8, 1780:

> The army has been near three months on a short allowance of bread; within a fortnight past almost perishing. They have been sometimes without bread, sometimes without meat; at no time with much of either, and often without both. They have borne their distress . . . with as much fortitude as human nature is capable of; but . . . the soldiery have in several instances plundered the neighboring inhabitants . . . Without an immediate remedy this evil would soon become intolerable . . . We are reduced to this alternative, either to let the army disband or . . . to have recourse to a military impress. . . . Our situation is more than serious, it is alarming. I doubt not your Excellency will view it in the same light, and that the Legislature of the State of Connecticut will give a fresh proof of their wisdom and zeal for the common cause, by their exertions upon the present occasion.[25]

Trumbull's response to Washington's emergency was just as energetic as that during the Valley Forge crisis. The rider who brought the above letter to Trumbull arrived in Lebanon in the early afternoon. The governor made provision for the man to rest for the evening. The next morning Trumbull gave the rider a message for Washington, detailing the exact quantity of provisions that would be forthcoming from Connecticut and specifying the day and the hour that the foodstuffs would arrive in camp. Despite the difficulty of purchasing provisions from Connecticut farmers who were disgruntled with Continental paper and in the face of frozen roads and icy winds, the provisions, as Trumbull had promised, arrived on time to feed the starving troops.

Connecticut's support of Washington's forces during the Revolutionary War was not restricted to provisions; the state in addition made significant contributions of gunpowder, weapons, and troops. America entered the Revolutionary War with few facilities for the production of gunpowder. While some ninety percent of the powder used by American troops in the first two and a half years of the war came from Europe and imported powder remained important, some states, including Connecticut, made an effort to produce gunpowder themselves. Under the leadership of Trumbull and the General Assembly, Connecticut offered a bounty on the production of powder in the first year of the war. Soon mills were operating in East Hartford, Windham, New Haven, Stratford, Glastonbury, and Salisbury. Though the state's production was limited by insufficient supplies of saltpeter and sulphur, Connecticut was able to provide gunpowder to the American forces at Ticonderoga (1775), Cambridge (1775), Fishkill (1781), and Horseneck (1781). The bulk of the state-produced gunpowder, however, was dispatched to those Connecticut towns—Wallingford, Durham, Stratford, New Haven, Groton, Norwich, and New London—that were apprehensive of British attacks from either New York or the sea.

Connecticut made an even more significant contribution to the Patriot cause with its guns than with its gunpowder. The state was fortunate in 1775 in having a number of skilled craftsmen who had already distinguished themselves in the field of gunmaking. These craftsmen were induced to increase their production by a state bounty of five shillings per gun. Hence gunmakers, especially in Mansfield, Windham, and Goshen, labored energetically to produce sufficient guns so that Connecticut men sent to the Continental forces were generally adequately armed.

The production of cannon at the Salisbury foundry, taken over by the state at the beginning of the war when the Tory owner fled to Britain, was as important as the efforts of Connecticut's gunsmiths. Cannon went to General Schuyler in the Northern Department in the spring of 1777. More generally, however, cannon, grape shot, and round shot from Salisbury were sent to fortify Connecticut coastal areas such as Norwalk, New Haven, Greenwich, and New London. If these areas had not been protected by the products of Salisbury, it is likely that Connecticut would have felt more keenly than she did the lash of the British sword.

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[25] George Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, January 8, 1780, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, pp. 152–153.

While Connecticut was laboring to provide the American forces with provisions, powder, and weapons, Governor Trumbull was constantly being called upon for troops by Washington and the Continental Congress. While proclamations were sufficient in the opening years of the war to bring forth Connecticut sons for state and Continental service, by 1777 Trumbull and the General Assembly had to resort to bounties to insure that the state would have sufficient manpower for militia and national service. On the whole, Connecticut's manpower contribution was impressive. With a total population of 200,000, the state had almost 40,000 of her sons in military service of some sort. Connecticut troops were at most of the significant engagements of the Revolutionary War, especially those in the North—the northern campaign (1775–1776), Boston (1775–1776), Long Island (1776), White Plains (1776), Trenton (1776), Saratoga (1777), Germantown (1777), Stony Point (1779), and Yorktown (1781).

The military charge of Governor Trumbull and the Council of Safety also included supervision over the state's small but potent fleet. During the Revolutionary War Connecticut floated a total of thirteen vessels, including brigantines, ships, sloops, schooners, and row galleys. Trumbull and the Council of Safety had direct control of the vessels: orders were issued in Lebanon to raise crews, to assign officers, and to provide for arms and provisions.

Although the Connecticut naval operation was perhaps not the most polished and sophisticated, the state's fleet won honors during the Revolutionary War. The *Oliver Cromwell*, largest of the state's vessels, was a full-rigged ship that took nine enemy prizes between 1777 and 1779, the most valuable of which was the brig *Honour* carrying a cargo worth £10,000. The *Defence*, another full-rigged Connecticut ship, was even more successful. She took thirteen British ships, including three troop transports, before she was broken on a reef trying to limp back to New London in 1779. Nor did the Connecticut vessels confine their attacks to merchantmen and transports. The *Trumbull*, a 36-gun frigate of 700 tons that was built in Connecticut and later sailed for the Continental Navy, fought a three-hour battle with the British man-of-war *Watt* and more than held her own. All in all, the Connecticut fleet was responsible for capturing over forty enemy vessels and thus rendered significant service to the Continental cause.

In many ways an even more formidable naval weapon was the privateering activity of state vessels. Connecticut merchant-shipowners, finding their ships and crews idled by the disruption of normal trading patterns and by an increasingly stringent British blockade, were not sorry to see the passage of national and state legislation to legalize privateering. In the fall of 1775 and the spring of 1776, Congress established provisions for both itself and the states to commission privateers. The Connecticut General Assembly in May 1776 authorized Governor Trumbull to issue commissions "for Private Ships of War." Connecticuters were eager to combine their patriotic and acquisitive impulses, and as a result between 200 and 300 privateers sailed during the Revolutionary War from ports such as New London, New Haven, Wethersfield, Hartford, Saybrook, and East Haddam.

While the especially tight British blockade of New England kept Connecticut privateering at a minimum during 1776 and 1777, the shift of British military interest southward in 1778 signaled the flowering of state privateering activity. The high tide came in the period 1779–1780, with New London serving as the state's favorite privateering port. Although the signing of commissions for privateers was another of the endless tasks for which Trumbull was responsible during the Revolutionary War, at least the governor had the pleasure with his Council of Safety of enjoying the record of Connecticut's privateers. They were able to take as prizes over 500 British merchantmen, a blow that encouraged British merchants to regard George III's continued prosecution of the Revolutionary War with less than elation.

Using its men, its arms, and its ships, Connecticut clearly made a major contribution to the achievement of American independence. While other states dragged their heels in their support of the Patriot cause, Connecticut worked tirelessly to establish American nationhood. The aging governor perhaps best expressed Connecticut's appreciation of the stakes involved in

the Revolutionary War when he wrote to the president of the Continental Congress in October 1783:

> That superintendg [*sic*] of Wisdom which governs human Affairs has bro't to a happy Termination our arduous Contest, It has bro't these United States to be named among the Nations of the Earth, as a Free, indepedendent & Sovereign People. . . . Suffer me to congratulate you, on this great Event—an Event . . . undoubtedly in the Work of Heaven and as such claims our utmost Gratitude & Love to the supreme Disposer of all Events.[26]

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[26] Jonathan Trumbull to Henry Laurens, October 5, 1783, Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers, Box 4.

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1783–1850: Conservatism and Then Some

FROM the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 to the middle of the nineteenth century the United States bristled with change. The youthful nation exerted itself in foreign affairs via the War of 1812, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Mexican War; in the process it strengthened its image abroad and extended its boundaries to the Pacific. New lands were penetrated, explored, mapped, and finally settled by pioneer farmers hungry for rich harvests from virgin lands. Political life was convulsed by the birth and death of a score of parties, and national dialogue included acrimonious debate over suffrage, slavery, women's rights, temperance, the tariff, internal improvements, the rights of labor versus capital, and banking systems. Traditional economic patterns were impacted by exciting innovations in commerce, transportation, and manufacturing. Yet Connecticut, while not oblivious or even uninvolved in these transformations, remained true to its essentially conservative character between 1783 and 1850 and followed a path entirely appropriate for the "Land of Steady Habits."

The Revolutionary era brought little change to Connecticut society. While the easterners who swept to power in 1766 wished to repudiate the soft position of western Connecticut leadership regarding the controversy with the mother country,

they had no intention of disturbing Connecticut's political or religious patterns. As would occur often in the future, Connecticut's former political "outs," once in office, proved far less recalcitrant than they had been when not in office. The easterners led by Jonathan Trumbull guided Connecticut through the pre-Revolutionary and war years ever respectful of Puritan concepts of rule by a political elite and religious worship supervised by the established Congregational Church.

During the 1780s Connecticut's conservative Standing Order—dedicated to the development of a national government with sufficient financial and military strength to preserve order and stability—took on and turned back a challenge from farmers in the northeastern and northwestern sections of the state. The strains of the war had produced serious internal division in Connecticut between merchants and farmers. The state's merchants did not fare badly during the Revolutionary War. Although hurt by a state trade embargo and Britain's blockade of New England, merchants were able to adjust by exploiting various economic routes. Some state merchants were able to carry on a lucrative trade with French and Danish possessions in the Caribbean by securing special permits from Trumbull and the Committee of Safety or by simply ignoring the state embargo. A number of merchants became involved in privateering, others had profitable dealings with state and national commissary agents, and a few threw both honor and patriotism to the winds and traded with the British and the Tories on Long Island.

Farmers found their wartime situation much less encouraging. While some large producers did enjoy increased demand for their crops by the state militia and the Continental Army, most of Connecticut's small farmers in the northern part of the state passed the war years in acute economic distress. They did not produce enough of a surplus to become involved in provisioning the military, and they were squeezed by steadily rising prices of manufactured goods. Disturbed by Connecticut's inability during the war to establish consistent price regulations, the agrarians complained about the "great pests of society," the merchants who were able to turn wartime scarcity to their own benefit.

At the same time, small farmers were bitter about Connecticut's approach to wartime taxation. They asserted that they had been forced to bear the greatest burden of new taxes (which were based on real property) while merchants, most of whose assets were liquid, had not generally been so affected. Although the Connecticut General Assembly had effected a revision of taxation during the war so that business profits as well as real estate were evaluated as taxable, small farmers never ceased to complain that they were bearing too large a portion of the increased taxes.

Thus embittered, Connecticut's small farmers were extremely sensitive in the 1780s to national political centralization that they believed would bring with it additional financial burdens. These farmers challenged Connecticut's nationalist-oriented Standing Order at a convention at Middletown in September 1783; they left no doubt that they intended to agitate against the Connecticut political establishment in order to prevent any state support for a stronger central government. Although they were defeated in their attempt to unseat the state's conservative-nationalist leadership in 1784, the agrarians constituted the principal opposition in Connecticut to the ratification of the United States Constitution in 1788. But they were no match for the state's Standing Order: Connecticut was a bulwark of strength in both the drafting and the ratification of the constitution.

The Connecticut General Assembly dispatched Oliver Ellsworth, William Samuel Johnson, and Roger Sherman as its delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Ellsworth, a Princeton graduate who had studied theology and then the law, had been a member of the Continental Congress; after ratification was one of Connecticut's first two United States senators; and later served as chief justice of the United States. Johnson was a Yale graduate, an Anglican who sat out the Revolution, and the President of Columbia College from 1787 to 1800. Sherman, born in Massachusetts, was a self-made man who after coming to Connecticut succeeded as a merchant, lawyer, and public official—serving as a judge of the County Court and the State Superior Court; as a member of

the Continental Congress; and as the first mayor of New Haven. He is particularly noted in American history as the only person to sign the Association of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. At the Constitutional Convention he was instrumental in the development of the so-called “Connecticut Compromise” by which the large and small states resolved their dispute regarding representation by the establishment of the House of Representatives, in which representation would be based on population, and the Senate, in which each state would have equal representation.

When the work of the convention was completed and the Constitution sent to the states for ratification, Connecticut's Standing Order waged a tireless campaign on behalf of the new framework of government. Beating back the opposition of the agrarians, the state's nationalist-conservatives, led by Ellsworth, Sherman, Noah Webster, Governor Samuel Huntington, and Lieutenant Governor Oliver Wolcott and aided by the Congregational clergy and the press, won an overwhelming victory for the Constitution by a vote of 128 to 40 at Connecticut's ratifying convention in Hartford on January 9, 1788. Connecticut thus became the fifth state to ratify the Constitution.

After the adoption of the Constitution and the subsequent formation of political parties, Connecticut manifested its essential conservatism by ardent support of the Federalist Party. Connecticut's leading lights—large farmers, successful businessmen, members of the Congregational clergy, officeholders, and newspaper editors—saw in the Federalist Party at the national level the same conservatism and respect for authority that they valued at home, and they managed to maintain the state as a Federalist stronghold until 1817. Connecticut's Federalists set up a system that left little hope for electoral success by the opposition, the small farmers and non-Congregationalists who supported the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans.

A principal device used by Connecticut's Federalists to maintain their control of the state was an elaborate process to select members of the Council, the upper house of the General

Assembly and the most conservative organ of Connecticut's government.

> Each voter was permitted to list the names of twenty persons whom he favored for the Council. In the October assembly meeting, these votes were counted, and the top twenty, on a statewide basis, were declared nominated. At the ensuing April election, about six months later, each voter could vote for any twelve of the list of twenty. However, in listing the names of the twenty Council nominees (members of the Council were called “assistants”) the current assistants or ex-assistants were listed first, regardless of how many votes they had received in the original balloting. Since voting started on the names at the head of the list, it can be seen that the system was stacked against any newcomer breaking into the highly-prized sanctum of the Council chambers. It would require considerable independence, even courage, to cast one's vote for a name far down on the list, and apparently few ever did.[1]

This restrictive system was made even more so by the passage in 1801 of the “Stand-up Law,” which required that nominations of assistants at town meetings be made by standing up or a show of hands. Such a procedure made it likely that only a voter of real independence and strong character would dare risk the wrath of the local Federalist and Congregational establishment by standing up and nominating a detested Republican to the Council.

The Federalists were also aided in their retention of political power in Connecticut by Republican foreign policy. When Jefferson established an embargo on American commerce in 1807 in response to the British practice of impressment, Connecticut suffered economic devastation. The Federalist *Connecticut Courant* declared that the embargo had resulted in “[a] great reduction of the prices of the produce of our farms, a total stagnation of trade, vast distress among merchants, the depriving of bread for seamen who are dependent on the sea for livelihood. . . .”[2] Such assertions carried great political weight:

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[1] David M. Roth and Freeman Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution: Connecticut 1763 to 1818* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1975), pp. 51–52.

[2] Quoted in Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution*, pp. 57–58.

the number of Republicans in the lower house of the General Assembly fell to sixty-one in 1808 and forty-five in 1809. In 1812, when Madison fell before the pressure of the War Hawks and resigned himself to war against Great Britain, the Federalists, who had strong commercial ties to England and favored England in her clash with Napoleonic France, denounced the war in no uncertain terms and reduced the strength of the Republicans in the Assembly to thirty-six.

Although some 1,800 Connecticuters served in the American armed forces during the War of 1812, the state's Federalist governor and Assembly effected little cooperation with the Madison administration's war effort and even refused to allow the Connecticut Militia to leave the state. As the American Army suffered humiliation after humiliation, the state's Federalist press kept up its denunciation. The *Courant* declared the War of 1812

> an unnecessary war;—a war which might have been avoided without the sacrifice of natural rights, or national honour;—which, having been undertaken without the necessary preparation, has been . . . productive of little besides disaster and disgrace.[3]

Connecticut's ire over the War of 1812 was hardly diminished by two British attacks on the state in 1814. In April over two hundred British sailors and marines landed at Pettipaug Point (Essex) and proceeded systematically to destroy some twenty ships, causing losses estimated at $200,000. Connecticut felt the lash of the British sword once again the following August when an enemy fleet appeared off the coast of Stonington. Prevented from landing for two days, the British vented their frustration by pumping sixty tons of metal into Stonington. Since the British landing was prevented and the townspeople were able to withstand the bombardment with little damage, Stonington's citizens have ever since taken great delight in the lines of Philip Freneau on the Battle of Stonington:

> It cost the king ten thousand pounds
> To have a dash at Stonington.[4]

[3] Quoted in Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution*, p. 59.
[4] Quoted in Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, p. 185.

But the episodes at Pettipaug Point and Stonington, along with Connecticut's long-felt disgust at "Mr. Madison's War," led the state's Federalists along a path that would prove fatal for continued Federalist control of Connecticut. They joined with representatives from other New England states at the Hartford Convention of 1814–1815. The assembled Federalists passed a number of resolutions, among them provisions for amendments to the United States Constitution requiring a two-thirds vote in Congress for a declaration of war and declaring that presidents could not be elected from the same state two terms in succession. While Connecticut's Federalists were none too guardedly taking swipes at Virginia's Republican dynasty and the War of 1812, the war was being concluded under circumstances that thrilled the nation. News of Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans, along with notice that the Treaty of Ghent did not reduce America's territory, left the impression that the nation had forced Britain to the peace table. Such an impression was undoubtedly good for the young nation's psyche, but it left Connecticut's Federalists in a terribly vulnerable political position.

The state's Republicans lost no time in exploiting the soft spot. A Republican pamphleteer characterized the Hartford Convention as "the foulest stain on our escutcheon," [5] and another Republican posed the question:

> What federalist can hereafter reflect on the events of the year 1814, and not feel ashamed of his party! What federalist can hereafter read the history of that year, and tell his children—"I acted with the party which favored and fed our country's enemy: I was one of that number that discouraged the government and preached rebellion! [6]

While the report of the Hartford Convention did in fact hint that secession might be a course of action for New England to consider, it was a bit much for the Connecticut Republicans to label the efforts at the Convention "rebellion." Nevertheless, Connecticut's Republicans were able to accuse the state's Federalists of unpatriotic activity and to translate their accusation into electoral gains. By the end of 1815 the Republicans had increased their seats in the General Assembly to 57.

[5] Quoted in Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution*, p. 63.
[6] Quoted in Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution*, p. 63.

The issue that ultimately enabled Connecticut's Republicans to topple the Federalists from power was disestablishment of the Congregational Church. Connecticut's established church, long a Federalist stronghold, occupied a unique position in the state: everyone—regardless of his religious preference—was taxed to support it. A predictable result was the retardation of the growth of other churches; any dissenter would be forced to contribute to both his own church and the Establishment's. Another result was that non-Congregationalists, particularly Baptists and Methodists, supported the Republican Party because the Federalists were such ardent advocates of the Congregational establishment. A break came for the Republicans in 1815 when the Episcopalians—traditional adherents of the Federalist Party—failed to receive funds they thought due them from the Federalist-dominated General Assembly. The Episcopalians promptly deserted Federalist ranks and associated themselves with an electoral effort that in 1817 defeated the Federalists for control of both the governorship and the lower house of the General Assembly. The long Federalist reign was over.

The Republican victory sparked the achievement of a long-sought Republican goal—the calling of a state convention to frame a new constitution for Connecticut. Unlike most of her sister states, Connecticut did not at the time of independence evolve a new state constitution but retained the Charter of 1662 based on the Fundamental Orders of 1639 as the framework of government. While Federalists were quite satisfied with this arrangement, Republicans for decades had maintained that the state's government needed overhauling along more liberal lines. With their control of the governorship and both houses of the General Assembly after the election of 1818, the Republicans called successfully for a state constitutional convention.

The Constitution of 1818 that emerged from the convention and was subsequently ratified by the state's voters achieved the Republican aim of disestablishment of the Congregational Church. The denomination that had been established and sustained in Connecticut by Thomas Hooker and his followers was to be reduced to one among several competing Christian sects. Connecticut henceforth would have separation of church and state and equality before the law of all Christian denominations.[7] In addition the Constitution of 1818—which would serve Connecticut until 1965—provided for liberalized suffrage requirements, strengthened prerogatives of the governor, gave greater independence to the judiciary, and established annual elections and legislative sessions. Finally, the constitution provided that each existing town would have two representatives in the House of Representatives, the lower house of the General Assembly, while new towns established after its adoption would have but one.

Just as the easterners had effected a political revolution in Connecticut in 1766, the Republicans had done likewise in 1817–1818. Federalist control of the state had been smashed, and the career of the Congregational Church as the state's established church was terminated. At this point, the Republicans—fresh from their recent triumphs—might have been expected to initiate additional liberal measures and thus lead Connecticut beyond the deadening retention of the status quo that had been the *raison d'etre* of the Federalist Party in the state. No such thing occurred.

For over a decade Republican Governors Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Gideon Tomlinson advocated aid to agriculture, the stimulation of industry, new taxes for the building of roads and canals, opening the Connecticut River to navigation as far as the northern border of Vermont, the improvement of prisons with special attention to facilities for juvenile offenders, and increased taxation for the support of education. To these pleas for action and advance the Republican-dominated General Assembly generally turned a deaf ear. There were some legislative advances, to be sure—the end of imprisonment for debt for women; a simplification of land purchases by aliens; a redistricting of the state's Senate districts; and a revision of the tax structure to place a heavier burden on the wealthy and to include items such as stocks and bonds as taxable assets. But on the whole the Republican Assembly members distinguished themselves as thoroughgoing fiscal conservatives and ignored the pleas of their pro-

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[7] Connecticut's Jews were not granted the right of public worship until 1843.

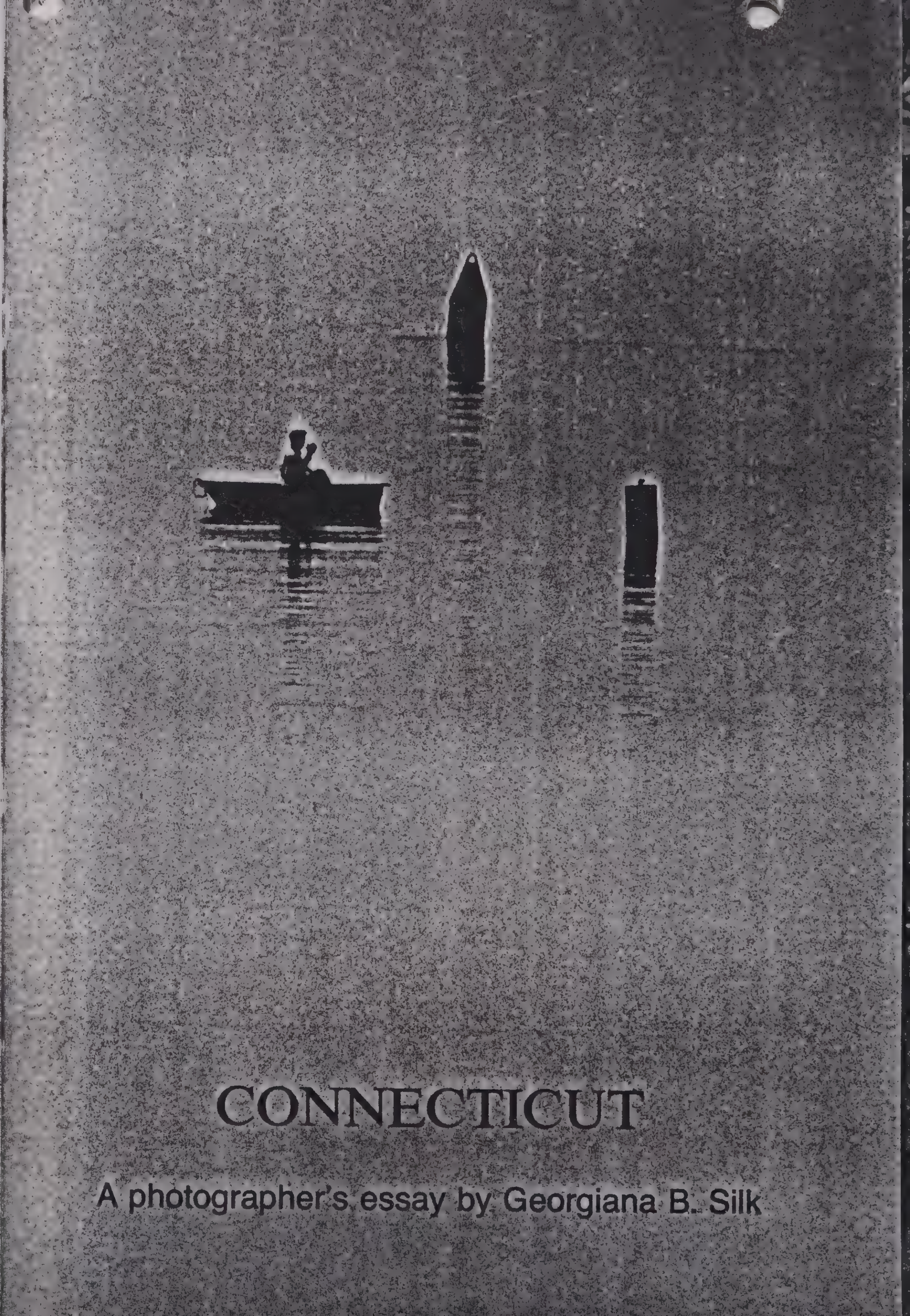
gressive governors for an enlightened legislative program.

Indeed, in some areas the Republican Assembly retreated into reactionary postures. A reform of the poor laws in 1820 that placed greater responsibility on the towns resulted in decreased aid for the poor and the infirm. Support of education did badly as well. Since 1795 Connecticut's common schools had been supported in part by monies Connecticut had received from land sales. In 1820 the Assembly decided to cut yearly appropriations for education and let the School Fund serve as nearly the sole state support for education. The towns, ever loath to raise taxes themselves, failed to supplement the School Fund adequately so that the common school system noticeably deteriorated.

Thus, like the Federalists before them, the Republicans directed Connecticut public life with a marked commitment to the state's traditional conservatism. A comparable conservatism was maintained in the 1830s and 1840s by the successors to the Federalists and the Republicans, the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs.

Connecticut's Democrats, encouraged by the election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828, emerged in the late 1820s and early 1830s and included newcomers to politics as well as the most liberal elements in the Republican Party. The Democrats, who elected four governors in the 1830s and 1840s, had an elaborately liberal program at their birth that included resolutions for an unrestricted franchise, the accountability of state officials, specific terms of office for judges, and shifts in taxes to remove some burdens from laboring classes. Once in office, the Democrats did enact a number of forward-looking measures, including ones that provided for altering restrictions on liquor sales; ending the exemption of clergy from poll taxes; abolishing traditional prohibitions on recreation during public fast days; abolishing imprisonment for debt; and simplifying divorce procedures. Yet the state's Democrats, although capable of securing office, were never able to stir the electorate so as to achieve the broad suffrage and humanitarian reforms that the Jacksonian movement achieved in other states.

As for the Whigs, they were hardly inclined in the direction

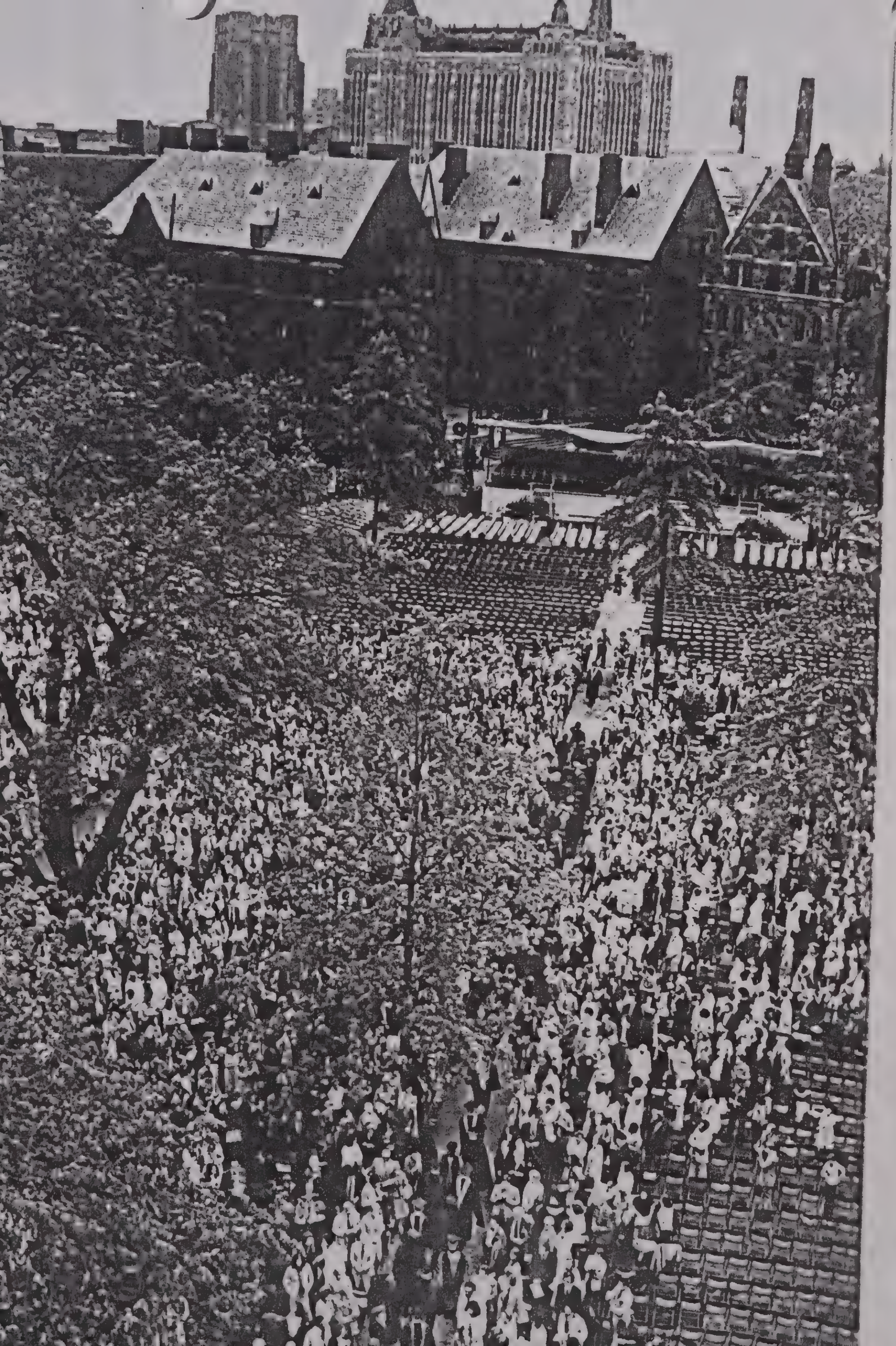


CONNECTICUT

A photographer's essay by Georgiana B. Silk

Lighthouse Museum, Stonington

Greenfield Hill Congregational Church
Fairfield



Yale University, New Haven

Old Statehouse, Hartford

Photographs in Sequence

Long Island Sound.
Lighthouse Museum, Stonington.
Greenfield Hill Congregational Church, Fairfield.
Yale University.
Old State House, Hartford.
Boats on the Connecticut River off Essex.
"Thistles" (small boats) racing on Long Island Sound.
Lighthouse at Mystic Seaport.
Wetlands, Old Lyme.
Dairy farm at North Stonington.
Houses in Waterbury.
B. F. Clyde's cider mill, Old Mystic.
Mark Twain house, Hartford.
Girl with polo pony at Fairfield County Hunt Club, Westport.
Square-rigged ships, Mystic Seaport.

of liberalism. Founded in the 1830s by old Federalists and conservative Republicans (who for a time were National Republicans), the Whigs stood foursquare for conservatism and economic retrenchment whenever possible. The essence of the Whig philosophy was indicated by Whig Governor William W. Ellsworth in a speech in the 1830s: "The time has come when experiments [by the Democrats] upon our dearest interests are no longer to be tolerated; and when experience, that great and unerring teacher in human affairs, is to resume her influence, and put to silence visionary politicians."[8] Although Whigs were responsible for the establishment of a State Board of Commissioners for the Public Schools, which under the leadership of Henry Barnard improved public education, the party on the whole spent much of its career slashing away at the qualified liberalism of the state's Democrats.

Connecticut's drift through the decades between 1783 and 1850 holding fast to its traditional political conservatism was the result of a number of factors. The Congregational Church, even though disestablished in 1818, influenced greatly the approach to life of a good portion of the Connecticut population. While there had been discernible anticlerical sentiment in the years before disestablishment, it had to do more with worldly than with specifically religious matters. People's lives still revolved around the ways of the church:

> Well into the nineteenth century the first family exercise of the morning was Bible reading followed by prayer, and the ideal of Sabbath observance remained unaltered, in theory at least, until Civil War times. Only slight modifications crept into the law, one in 1818 permitting mail transportation on Sunday, and another in 1833 removing restrictions against labor and recreation on Fast Days. With these exceptions the law surrounded holy days with rigid constraint, prohibiting work, or play, or travel save to and from the meeting house.[9]

More important than the maintenance of the practices of Con-

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[8] Quoted in Jarvis Means Morse, *A Neglected Period of Connecticut's History, 1818–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), p. 305.

[9] Morse, *A Neglected Period*, p. 121.

gregationalism was the fact that Connecticut's nineteenth-century Congregationalists, like their Puritan ancestors, held a view of life that placed very little emphasis upon progress. It thus follows that Connecticut's Congregationalists would not experience in the first half of the nineteenth century a burning desire for change but would be quite content with a political system that fostered stability and placidity. And finally, although Congregationalism's primacy was threatened in the decades between 1783 and 1850 by increasing numbers of Espiscopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, and eventually Roman Catholics, the Congregational Church in 1850 was still the dominant religious institution in Connecticut.

Still another factor that contributed to Connecticut's continuing conservatism in the first half of the nineteenth century was the political dominance of the state's small towns and rural areas. The Constitution of 1818 in providing for two seats in the House of Representatives for all of Connecticut's existing communities had been gravely unfair at best to the state's urban areas. In 1820 New Haven, with 7,000 people, had the same two representatives as the town of Union, which possessed but 725 souls. By 1850, the situation had become preposterous. Connecticut's small towns—those with less than three thousand inhabitants—comprised only fifty-five percent of the total population but controlled sixty-five percent of the seats in the House of Representatives.

Moreover, life in Connecticut's rural communities hardly produced a person who was inclined toward political innovation. Like all those engaged in agriculture, Connecticut's farmers lived tight, demanding lives centered on those chores that constitute the essence of life in an agricultural setting.

> [The New England farmer]. . . . was responsible for the acres he tilled—for his grains, his root crops, his flax and hops, and his orchard. He bred, milked, and pastured his cows. He found grazing for the sheep, sheared them in late spring or early summer, and kept them in warm sheds in winter. The fowl he usually left to his wife, but the care of the swine, the oxen, and the horses was his. Planting, cultivating, fertilizing, and harvesting took days of hard labor. In winter when he could not work in the fields he built and repaired fences, kept his harness in order, husked, threshed, flailed, and winnowed grain, bottled cider, repaired the house, shed, and barns, and shoveled and ploughed snow on paths and roads, cut wood endlessly. . . .[10]

This sturdy farmer's life was much more challenging than most because he toiled on thin, stony, almost unyielding soil. Such unremitting toil in essentially bleak surroundings bred a person who went about his daily and yearly chores with the same absence of originality with which he charged his representatives in the General Assembly to hold the line against innovation and change.

A Connecticut farmer had generally paid dearly for the hard land that he made his own. A young man often went heavily into debt for the land that was requisite for respectability and standing in an agricultural community. Working for years—indeed a lifetime—to pay off his obligations produced the highest regard for both land and money. Consequently, Connecticut's rural population, which dominated the General Assembly, was quite predictably averse to dropping landholding as a suffrage requirement and to spending money for anything but the most basic government necessities. Although Connecticut's rural electorate changed its party allegiance a number of times between 1783 and 1850, through all political transformations it acted as a firm brake on government that even hinted at departing from established, traditional patterns.

The third factor that reinforced the state's conservatism between 1783 and 1850 was also linked to the condition of rural, agricultural Connecticut. The state's adherence to the *status quo* in these decades was strengthened by a massive migration from Connecticut that began in the years before the French and Indian War and peaked in the period from the 1780s to the 1840s. While the population of Connecticut was over 250,000 in the early 1800s, it has been estimated that almost three times that number had left for ostensibly greener pastures. What drove

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[10] Catherine Fennelly, *Life in an Old New England Country Village* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p. 26.

thousands of Connecticuters from home and fireside is not difficult to discern.

Connecticut's supply of fertile land was insufficient to satisfy the demands of an astounding population explosion. Large families in early Connecticut appear to have been socially encouraged and economically demanded, and young men and women were induced to marry early and meet their conjugal responsibilities with more than ordinary attention. "A seventy-five-year-old grandfather with a head for arithmetic could count fifty or sixty grandchildren, and his dividend in great-grandchildren easily totaled three or four hundred." [11] Such a throng simply could not be integrated economically into a society in which there was a shortage of fertile land. Moreover, there were undoubtedly those—especially between 1790 and 1820—who could not bear the stifling political and religious pressures of Federalism and Congregationalism and who chose precarious travel and homesteading to the ideological confinement that existed at home. In addition, temporary phenomena such as the harshness of the weather in 1816, when there was frost in every month, drove thousands of Connecticut's Yankees to the road. Of the situation in 1816–1817, Samuel Goodrich wrote:

> I remember the tide of emigration through Connecticut, on its way to the West during the summer of 1817. Thousands feared or felt that New England was destined, henceforth, to become a part of the frigid zone. . . . A sort of stampede took place from cold, desolate, worn-out New England. . . . Some persons went in covered wagons—frequently a family consisting of father, mother, and nine small children, with one at the breast—some on foot and some crowded together under the cover, with kettles, gridirons, feather-beds, crockery, and the family Bible. . . .[12]

For whatever reason, Connecticut's sons and daughters left their homeland in amazing numbers destined for north, south, and especially west.

Before and after the French and Indian War, Connecticuters

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[11] Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 262.

[12] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, pp. 261–262.

were attracted by the Berkshire country in western Massachusetts. Enterprising pioneers from Canaan, Colchester, Danbury, Hartford, Litchfield, Lebanon, Lyme, Middletown, Ridgefield, Stonington, West Hartford, and Wethersfield helped to settle Berkshire county towns such as Alford, Becket, Egremont. Great Barrington, Hancock, Hinsdale, Lee, Lenox, Otis, Pittsfield, West Stockbridge, Washington, and Windsor. Largely of orthodox Congregational stock, these migrants from Connecticut no sooner seeded their land, built their homes, and hacked out their roads than they sent back home for a Yale-trained minister to preside over their churches. Indeed, nearly three quarters of the pastors in western Massachusetts by 1800 were from Yale.

With the settlement of western Massachusetts, the seemingly endless stream of emigrants from Connecticut fixed their eyes on the area between New York and New Hampshire which was to be Vermont but for decades was a source of bitter contention among New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. Connecticuters played by far the most important role in the evolution of the state of Vermont. The area east of the Green Mountains was settled primarily by migrants from such eastern Connecticut towns as Lebanon, Hebron, Mansfield, Coventry, and Canterbury. These eastern Connecticuters generally were traditional Congregationalists and set up communities in Vermont that were models of Puritan propriety. Not so west of the Green Mountains. That region was settled by western Connecticuters (from towns such as Canaan, Cornwall, Litchfield, Milford and Salisbury), among whom were "the discontented, the religious deviates, the rustic individualists, the impatient, and the unpopular." [13] But more important than the differences between the eastern and western Connecticuters in Vermont was that when Vermont declared its independence in 1777 and drew up a constitution, the Connecticut influence on the document was profound. Such features of the Vermont constitution as those making the town the basis for representation in the legislature and demanding membership in a Protestant church as a

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[13] Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 264.

requirement for members of the legislature had their origins in Connecticut practice.

Eighteenth-century Connecticuters did not only go northward. Another major Connecticut population thrust was westward into New York. After the Revolution, Connecticuters from every corner of the state migrated by the thousands into western New York from Binghamton to Buffalo. When Timothy Dwight later toured the area, he wrote: "It is questionable whether mankind has ever seen so large a tract changed so suddenly from wilderness into a well-inhabited, and well-cultivated country. . . . The mass of the population forms . . . a most important accession to the State of New York; continually increasing both in numbers and value."[14]

Even more Connecticuters went farther west to Ohio. In 1786 Connecticut gave up its claim to that portion of Pennsylvania for which the founders of the Susquehannah Company had hungered in return for a congressional grant of the Western Reserve, a tract extending halfway across Ohio that included over three million acres. A portion of the Reserve—the so-called Fire Lands—was set aside as compensation to residents of Fairfield, New Haven, Norwalk, Danbury, and New London who had suffered losses at the hands of the British during the Revolution. The rest of the Reserve was sold on August 5, 1795, for $1,200,000 to a land company, after which the General Assembly set aside the money as a permanent endowment fund for education. Connecticut residents as well as former Connecticuters who had settled in western Massachusetts, Vermont, or New York flocked to Ohio, where by 1800 there were settlements in over a third of the townships of the Reserve. Perhaps the most often remembered of these Ohio-bound Connecticuters was Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury who laid the foundations of the settlement on Lake Erie that grew into the city of Cleveland.

Connecticut's migrants continued to swarm westward. A number of Connecticut families settled in LaGrange and LaPorte counties in Indiana. The Collins brothers of Litchfield went to Illinois, where in 1817 they founded Collinsville near St. Louis;

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[14] Quoted in Lee, *The Yankees of Connecticut*, p. 270.

Walter L. Newberry of Windsor went to Illinois too, and bequeathed much of his real estate fortune to found the great Chicago research library that bears his name. Connecticuters journeyed to Michigan and there made contributions like those of Isaac Crary, who helped to pattern the Michigan school system. Nelson Dewey, Wisconsin's first governor, was a Connecticut native son, and in Minnesota Connecticut migrants contributed to the evolution of such communities as New Haven, Hartford, and Winsted. Moses Austin of Durham tried Philadelphia, Virginia, and Missouri before his death; his son Stephen went on to Texas and became a prominent state-builder. From Torrington came John Brown, who slashed his way into American history by the "Pottawatomie Massacre" in Kansas in 1856 and by his abortive raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. By 1860 almost three thousand Connecticuters had reached the end of the line—California. Especially remembered in California's history are Stephen J. Field of Haddam, who wrote the legislation creating the state's judiciary system, and Collis P. Huntington of Harwinton, who helped shape a vital link in the first transcontinental railroad—the Central Pacific.

There is, of course, much grandeur in this tale of Connecticut's sons and daughters populating various parts of the nation—and in the process exhibiting the rare courage that enables a person to leave the safe and the known to face the new and the challenging. But it spelled stark tragedy for Connecticut. While all points of the compass benefited from the drive and ambition of these Connecticut pioneers, Connecticut itself lost generations of men and women who might—if they had stayed at home—have served as a vitalizing influence in a state stricken with a blind adherence to the *status quo*.[15] Such a conclusion was not lost on conservative Connecticuters such as Timothy Dwight, who in thinking about this mass emigration concluded that ancient Rome was peaceful because it "sent [its] restless

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[15] The degree to which Connecticut's emigrants made their marks in their new homes was borne out by the remarkable fact that in 1831 one third of the United States Senate and one fourth of the House of Representatives had been born in Connecticut.

spirits abroad in [its] armies. Connecticut derives the same blessings to a considerable extent from her emigrations.'' [16]

A final factor in explaining Connecticut's continuing conservatism from 1783 to 1850 was that its emigrants were not replaced by any great numbers of European immigrants who might have acted as a balancing force to the state's dominant rural agrarians. While there were a goodly number of Irish living in the Wooster Square neighborhood of New Haven by the late 1840s, neighborhoods of this sort were rare in Connecticut before 1850. Until the era of the Civil War Connecticut had relatively few foreign-born residents and was pretty much as Henry Adams had described it as being in 1800: ''a part of New England rather than of the United States.'' [17]

Influenced by rural political domination, the continuing strength of the Congregational Church, the impact of mass emigration, and the absence in any great numbers of the foreign-born, Connecticut between 1783 and 1850 thus followed its traditional conservative course.

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16. Quoted in Roth and Meyer, *From Revolution to Constitution*, p. 81.
17. Quoted in Morse, *A Neglected Period in Connecticut's History*, p. 287.

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1850–1865: Connecticut and the Ordeal of the Union

SOME events produce repercussions as unavoidable as the rush of a runaway locomotive barreling down a steep incline. In the Revolutionary era there was such an event. The Boston Tea Party of December 1773 set off a chain reaction that led inexorably to the military confrontation at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. The Tea Party drove an enraged King and Parliament to the punitive Coercive Acts of June 1774, to which the American Whigs responded with a tough line (at the First Continental Congress of September–October 1774) that included the decision to arm if necessary to protect beleaguered Boston. It was an American store of arms—as well as Sam Adams and Hancock—that the British set out to seize on their fateful march into the Massachusetts countryside. The result—with British determination to put a brake on the Bay Colony's recalcitrance and comparable Massachusetts determination to stand fast for American ''rights''—was the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

There are similar chain reactions in later American history. The Mexican War of 1846–1848 was in many ways a lark for the United States, not unlike the experience in 1898 in the war against Spain. But from the earlier war stemmed a series of events that advanced American sectional disunity until the

North–South issue erupted at Fort Sumter in April 1861. The Mexican War reignited the dreaded question of expansion of slavery into the territories. That issue tortured the nation through the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854, the rise of the Republican Party at mid-decade, and the Dred Scott decision of 1857, finally bringing the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860 and the resultant beginnings of southern secession in December 1860, and ultimately the outbreak of war. The ordeal of the Union from the end of the Mexican War through the sectional disputes of the 1850s and the tragic years of 1861 to 1865 involved not only Connecticut's inevitable participation in sectional disharmony but, equally important, the state's response to the issues of the Civil War era with predictable faithfulness to its historic traditions and values.

An appreciation of Connecticut's sense of reverence toward the concept of the American Union is central to an understanding of the state during the era of the Civil War. The Puritan Congregationalists who supported the Patriot cause during the Revolution and who stood for ratification of the United States Constitution in the late 1780s conceived of the United States as a vehicle for the realization of America as the Wilderness Zion free of the Old World's corrupting influences. On the basis of such a conviction, the American Union took on a significance that transcended mere political arrangement: it was a divinely ordained instrument for the fulfillment of God's will. As the nation expanded and prospered in the first half of the nineteenth century despite sectional wranglings and periodic economic fluctuations, it appeared more and more to the Connecticut Yankee that his Union was a sacred trust to which he owed devotion as much as allegiance. Thus, by the time the concept and reality of the American Union were assaulted by rebels' shells at Sumter in 1861, the Connecticuter was as ready as anyone north of Mason's and Dixon's line to express devotion to the national cause by joining the Union Army, which Stephen Crane thirty years later would beautifully describe as “the vast blue demonstration.”

The Connecticuter's devotion to the Union was hardly surprising given his traditional conservative political orientation. An obvious and pervasive respect for authority was basic to the conservative credo that had dominated Connecticut since the days of Hooker. The seventeenth-century Puritan Congregational fathers had drilled into their charges the conviction that society's leaders were to receive the obedience owed to God's “Chosen.” Despite the relative secularization of Connecticut society in subsequent centuries, the Connecticuter was still periodically preached to by his Congregational clergymen on the respect owed to one's elders, to one's parents, and to one's political and ecclesiastical shepherds. The Connecticuter, immersed in an atmosphere permeated by such respect, could hardly ignore the necessity of respect for the ultimate symbols of earthly authority—the Constitution and the Union—as well as the appropriateness of designating the secessionist South as the exponent of disorder and anarchy.

Through the years from Sumter to Appomattox, Connecticut's leading clerical and political leaders thundered forth on the sanctity of the Union and the righteousness of the Union cause. Supreme among Connecticut's defenders of the Union was Horace Bushnell (1802–1876), the state's most distinguished nineteenth-century Congregational clergyman and theologian. Bushnell, in works such as *Views of Christian Nurture* (1847), *God in Christ* (1849), and *Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866), liberalized Congregational thought by repudiating the Calvinist conception of the depravity of children and had a profound influence upon the religious education of young people by sparking the Sunday School movement.

During the Civil War Bushnell, in his sixties and frail, gave testimony to his passionate devotion to American nationalism by preaching the inseparability of civil government and the Union. Since civil government was for Bushnell divinely ordained, it followed that secession was not only treason but a violation of the laws of God. By 1863, when he was tortured by Union defeats and the apparent growing strength of Democratic advocates of “peace at any price,” Bushnell proclaimed that the sanctity of the Union cause justified a suspension of civil rights and civil liberties—or, as Bushnell put it, a “tem-

porary waiving of the Constitution itself to save the Constitution and the nation." [1]

Another outspoken proponent of Connecticut's strong Unionist posture was William Wolcott Ellsworth. He was the son of jurist Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, who had served Connecticut and the nation in the Revolutionary and early national periods as a member of Trumbull's Council of Safety, a Connecticut delegate to the Continental Congress, a member of the Connecticut delegation to the Constitutional Convention, a United States senator, and the second chief justice of the United States. The younger Ellsworth, himself a lawyer, spoke in Litchfield County in January 1862 in ringing defense of the Union:

> Consider the physical and natural relations of this country, which like ligaments bind these states indissolubly together, as well may the human body be separated and expect vitality and health. Can the hands say to the feet, "I have no need of thee" or the head to the heart, "I have no need of thee?" No more can this Union be divided, and our free government continued.[2]

If Connecticut thought in the Civil War era was decisively Unionist, sentiment in the state was also noticeably hostile to the institution of slavery. Connecticut had assumed a significant role in the antislavery thrust evident in America during and after the Revolution. By 1790 slavery had generally been abolished north of the Mason–Dixon Line, and every state but Georgia and South Carolina had enacted legislation against the slave trade. In Connecticut as well, the Revolutionary era brought advances against slavery. During the Revolutionary War many Connecticut blacks secured their freedom in exchange for military service; the record indicates that Connecticut's blacks received the same pay as whites and were given the opportunity to serve as soldiers and sailors rather than as laborers or servants. Of greater significance, in 1784 the Connecticut General Assembly enacted legislation providing that every black born after March 1, 1784, would be free at age twenty-five, and in 1788 and 1790 legislation was passed to end the traffic in slaves in the state. By the time slavery ended in Connecticut in 1848, there were only twenty blacks still in servitude.

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[1] Quoted in John Niven, *Connecticut for the Union: The Role of the State in the Civil War* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 275.

[2] Quoted in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 273.

In the decades before the Civil War Connecticut had a number of antislavery and abolition societies whose members were actively engaged in routing fugitive slaves to Canada through the Underground Railroad. Slaves on the run from southern masters and northern hunters were protected in hiding places in communities such as Deep River, Hartford, Killingly, Middletown, and Willimantic.

Connecticuters provided additional evidence of their antislavery disposition in the *Amistad* case. The *Amistad* was a Spanish slave ship found drifting off Montauk Point in August 1839. After the vessel had sailed from Havana, the slaves had taken over the vessel and ordered the Cuban owners to set a course for Africa. The Cubans, hoping to land the ship in slave territory, accidentally sailed into Long Island Sound, where the vessel was boarded by the crew of the U.S.S. *Washington*. When the vessel was subsequently landed in Connecticut, there took place a complicated series of legal maneuvers during which the Cubans and the Spanish government sought the return of the vessel and its human cargo to their owners while the Africans sued for their freedom. A committee of Connecticut and New York antislavery people came to the defense of the Africans, providing them with such distinguished lawyers as Roger Sherman Baldwin, Theodore Sedgwick, and Seth P. Staples. The defense, which eventually came to include the aging John Quincy Adams, finally won the day when the United States Supreme Court upheld a Connecticut judicial decision that the Africans were to be free. Thirty-five of the African survivors of the *Amistad*—sixteen had died of cruel treatment before the mutiny—were returned to Africa and freedom.

Connecticut retained its antislavery posture as the North–South controversy heated up in the 1850s and exploded into warfare in 1861. Connecticut nullified the Fugitive Slave Act

of 1850; supported the "free-soilers" in Kansas following the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854; and embraced the antislavery Republican Party by the mid-1850s. It had also produced Harriet Beecher Stowe. Born in Litchfield in 1811, Harriet Beecher in 1836 married Professor Calvin Ellis Stowe, an authority on biblical literature at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. Her distaste for slavery was nurtured by the antislavery atmosphere at the Lane Seminary as well as by a trip to a Kentucky plantation where she saw the reality of slave life. The most significant product of her experience was *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly,* published in 1852. Within a year the book had sold 300,000 copies; within several years sales totaled three million and a generation of northerners was strengthened in its rejection of the South's "peculiar institution."

By the second year of the war, opinion in Connecticut—save for that of the Peace Democrats or Copperheads—strongly favored a legal death blow to slavery by means of emancipation. The *Hartford Courant* ran the following jingle on February 25, 1862, calling on Lincoln to free the slaves:

> Dread no future. Let the word
> Like the voice of fate be heard;
> Free the slave, the work is done!
> *Freedom's battle fought and won.*
>
> In the place of Contraband
> Let the name of freedom stand
> Up and act! and while you may
> Sweep a nation's curse away.
>
> Shake the horrid nightmare off
> Ere the world begins to scoff
> Take your station in the van
> Be a hero—and a MAN! [3]

In August of 1862 Connecticut's Civil War governor, William A. Buckingham, led a state delegation to Washington to present an emancipation petition to President Lincoln. When Lincoln did in fact act on emancipation—by his preliminary proclamation on September 26, 1862, just four days after the Battle of Antietam—Buckingham wrote the President that the emancipation policy had "my cordial approval and shall have my unconditional support." [4]

Connecticut's obvious distaste for the institution of slavery had both ideological and economic roots. In the late eighteenth century Connecticuters shared with a great many Americans—northerners and southerners—the realization that slavery hardly squared with the natural-rights philosophy spelled out in the Declaration of Independence. By the nineteenth century, aware more than most Americans of the importance of farmland in the West, Connecticuters were loath to see sites for settlement swallowed up by plantation masters and their gangs of slaves. Speaking in Connecticut during the campaign of 1860, Lincoln revealed his awareness of the importance of western lands to the Connecticut mentality when he said in Meriden: "The new territories are the newly-made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not." [5]

Yet Connecticut's adoption of an antislavery posture between the Revolution and the Civil War did not carry with it any modification of the state's belief in white supremacy that was operative in the colonial period. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, when the state had some 8,000 blacks, most of whom were free, Connecticut blacks were far from enjoying the rights and opportunities that most Connecticuters took for granted. Of the situation in his boyhood town of Farmington, the abolitionist John Hooker wrote: "The black man seemed to have no rights as a man. He was often kindly regarded by humane people, but such a thing as his having rights of a man were hardly thought of." [6] Of the black's

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[3] Quoted in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 280.

[4] Quoted in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 282.

[5] Quoted in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 4.

[6] Quoted in Janice Law Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders: Connecticut 1818 to 1865* (Chester: The Pequot Press, 1975), p. 28.

plight in early nineteenth-century Connecticut, one scholar has written:

> The supposed mental and moral weakness of black people were the excuse for depriving them of educational opportunities, including vocational training, and for denying them equal access to employment, public accomodations, and transportation facilities. While exceptional blacks were successful as contractors and builders, waiters, barbers, farmers, or small businessmen, the majority found themselves without skills and without opportunities.[7]

The absence of educational opportunity was the condition of the nineteenth-century Connecticut black that was most discouraging and most likely to limit black progress. It seems to have been the practice either to bar blacks from schools or to isolate them if they did attend. It was reported that in Windsor in the 1820s "there were one or two Negro boys who attended schools, and sat apart from the other scholars, in the southeast corner of the house." [8] When efforts were made to establish educational institutions specifically for blacks, Connecticut community reaction was hostile. In New Haven in the early 1830s Simeon Jocelyn, a white philanthropist, encouraged the establishment of a college for blacks that would offer academic and vocational training. New Haveners would have no part of the idea, claiming that Yale and the town's female seminaries would be "damaged" by the existence of a "black college."

A more famous example of community resentment halting plans for black education took place in the town of Canterbury in northeastern Connecticut in the 1830s. Prudence Crandall, born of Quaker descent in Hopkinton, Rhode Island, in 1803, taught in Plainfield before opening a school for girls in Canterbury. When Miss Crandall accepted a black girl and the townspeople withdrew their white children from the school, the Quaker schoolmistress decided to keep a school exclusively for black girls. Canterbury's citizens were so enraged at her intentions that they succeeded in getting the Connecticut General Assembly to enact legislation in 1833 that prohibited the establishment of private schools for blacks without community approval. Under the "Black Law," Miss Crandall was arrested, imprisoned, and convicted after two trials. Although the State Court of Errors overturned the conviction on grounds of insufficient evidence, Prudence Crandall's school had no future. Residents of Canterbury, who had harassed the school by poisoning the well and other acts of vandalism, delivered the *coup de grace* on September 9, 1834, when they smashed the school's windows. With no prospect of protection from such vicious acts, Prudence Crandall ended her experiment.

Connecticut's antislavery and pro-Union postures of the 1850s and 1860s did not mark any increase in general receptivity to Connecticut's blacks. During the Civil War the treatment accorded the state's black regiments was discouraging to the black soldiers. Lieutenant Colonel David Torrance of the state's black Twenty-ninth Regiment concluded: "The poor rights of a soldier were denied them, Their actions were narrowly watched and the slightest faults . . . commented upon." [9] In 1865 the voters of Connecticut firmly rejected an amendment to the state constitution that would have given Connecticut black men the vote. They did not receive the franchise until the state and the nation ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in 1869. But even with the vote, Connecticut's blacks found themselves in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a society that accorded them few opportunities for educational, economic, or social progress.

Thus during the era of the Civil War Connecticuters generally functioned on the basis of pro-Union, antislavery, and antiblack sentiments. The antiblack attitude manifested itself in a blunt racism that was unfortunately characteristic of nineteenth-century America; Connecticut's pro-Union and antislavery postures contributed to the state's emergence as a Unionist stronghold during the war years.

One manifestation of Connecticut's Unionist posture was its

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[7] Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders*, pp. 29–30.

[8] Quoted in Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders*, p. 30.

[9] Quoted in Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders*, p. 43.

consistent support of the Republican cause. The Republican Party, completely unrelated to the Jeffersonian Republican Party of fifty years earlier, was an outgrowth of northern indignation at the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act in May 1854. The Kansas–Nebraska legislation was the brainchild of Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, a bouncy five-footer who had no end of financial and political goals and sought to achieve most of them via the Kansas–Nebraska bill. As a major holder of western lands and Chicago real estate, Douglas hoped to see a much-discussed transcontinental railroad take the proposed central route (from St. Louis up the Kansas and Arkansas rivers, across the Great Salt Lake, and by the California Trail to San Francisco) because such a route would be closer to Chicago than the other proposed routes—the northern, the thirty-fifth parallel, and the southern. Organization and settlement of the Kansas territory, through which a central transcontinental railroad would run, was accordingly essential. Douglas also hoped that the Kansas–Nebraska legislation might strengthen his chances for the presidency by making him as popular among southern Democrats as he already was among northern Democrats. The bill provided that the question of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska would be decided on the basis of the operation of popular sovereignty—a process by which residents of the territories would have the opportunity to vote slavery in or out. Popular sovereignty was especially pleasing to Southerners in the case of Nebraska because it lay north of the 36° 30′ line—north of which slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act did not carry Douglas into the White House. While the legislation did for a time make the Illinois senator the darling of the South, a far more crucial result of the measure was a surge of anger among antislavery Northerners at the prospect that the long-accepted 36° 30′ northern boundary for slavery might be breached by slaves in Nebraska. With the Democratic Party in the hands of southerners or prosouthern northern politicians, the Whig Party on the fence on the slavery issue, and the Free-Soil Party weak and ineffective, antislavery northerners had no place to go politically to express their anger at the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act. The

result was the birth in 1854 of the Republican Party as a vehicle to force an end to the expansion of slavery. The new party quickly swallowed up antislavery Democrats, Whigs, and Free-Soilers and gained astounding momentum in the northern states.

In Connecticut the Republican Party was launched in a series of meetings in February and March 1856. The two principal movers of Republican organization in the state were Joseph R. Hawley and Gideon Welles, both major figures in nineteenth-century Connecticut politics.

Hawley (1826–1905) was a Hartford lawyer who by the 1850s revealed strong antislavery inclinations. He was associated with the Free-Soil Party in the early 1850s and in mid-decade became a pillar of the new Republican Party. He fought hard for Republican candidate John C. Frémont in the 1856 presidential campaign and in 1857 became the editor of the Republican-oriented *Hartford Evening Press*. During the Civil War Hawley rose to the rank of General and was commended for "meritorious conduct" in engagements at Bull Run (1861) and at Olustee, Florida (1864). Although Hawley became editor of the *Hartford Courant* after the war, he drew most satisfaction from a distinguished political career during which he served as governor of Connecticut and a member of both houses of Congress.

Gideon Welles (1802–1878) started and ended his political career as a Democrat and in the interim served as a Republican Secretary of the Navy under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson (1861–1869). During the first phase of that career Welles was a Jacksonian Democrat who served in the Connecticut General Assembly, as state comptroller, and in the federal system as postmaster of Hartford and head of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing for the Navy. As a Democrat in the General Assembly Welles was a staunch opponent of imprisonment for debt, property and religious qualifications for voting, religious tests for witnesses in court, and grants of special privilege by the Assembly. He left the Democratic Party in the 1850s because of its pro-Southern and proslavery postures and became a leading light in the Connecticut Republican Party.

After his appointment as Secretary of the Navy in 1861,

Welles reorganized his department and built a navy more than adequate for Union war needs. He ran the Union Navy with independence and courage, refusing to bow to senators who wished naval yards built in their states, shipowners who wished to unload inappropriate vessels on the navy, or naval officers who sought promotions through political pressure. He handled orders to officers and the formulation of tactical directives closely and intelligently, but perhaps his greatest contribution to Union naval success was his willingness to back innovations such as ironclads, heavy ordnance, improved steam machinery, and armored cruisers. The essence of the man was captured by an associate: "There was nothing decorative about him; there was no noise in the street when he went along; but he understood his duty, and did it efficiently, continually, and unvaryingly." [10]

For all his achievements as a Republican Secretary of the Navy, Welles broke with the party and returned to the Democratic fold in 1868. During the war he had loyally supported the Lincoln administration even though as a strict constructionist of the Constitution (of the Jackson school) he was displeased by measures such as the suspension of habeas corpus, the arrest of Copperhead Clement Vallandigham, and the suppression of the *Chicago Times*. But his patience with the Republicans ended when the Radicals in the party took command after the election of 1866, imposed a harsh Reconstruction policy on the South, and undertook the impeachment of Johnson.

During the mid-1850s Connecticuters with an antislavery disposition responded with enthusiasm in both state and national elections to the Republican Party led by Hawley and Welles. At the national level, Connecticuters gave Frémont the nod over Democratic candidate James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856 by a sizable plurality (42,715–34,995), and in the presidential election of 1860 Connecticuters gave Lincoln a landslide victory in the state. At the state level, the Republicans

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[10] C. A. Dana, *Recollection of the Civil War*, quoted in Howard K. Beale, "Gideon Welles," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), 19:632.

enjoyed success in the gubernatorial elections of 1856 and 1857, as they effected a coalition with the Know-Nothing Party (an anti-Catholic party that rose and died quickly in the 1850s). In the gubernatorial election of 1858 the Republicans had enough support on their own in the state to elect a governor—William A. Buckingham.

In a sense Buckingham's election was as significant for Connecticut as had been the election as governor and deputy governor of Pitkin and Trumbull in 1766, which assured that Connecticut would be in Patriot hands as the Anglo-American controversy deepened in the late 1760s and 1770s. With Buckingham's election in 1858, and his repeated re-election through the election of 1865, Connecticut would have a strong Unionist in command as sectional controversy erupted into civil war.

Buckingham (1804–1875) was born in the eastern Connecticut community of Norwich, a town not far from Lebanon, the home of Jonathan Trumbull. Buckingham worked on his father's farm as a boy and was immersed in the deeply held Congregational beliefs of his parents. Although apprenticed to a surveyor, Buckingham chose not to enter that profession but instead associated himself with his uncle's dry goods store in Norwich. Buckingham then went into business for himself, for twenty years ran the largest dry goods store in Norwich, and subsequently made heavy investments in the successful Haywood Rubber Company of Colchester. By the time of his first election as governor, Buckingham was a wealthy man. After his governorship, Buckingham served as a United States senator from 1869 until his death on February 5, 1875. In the Senate he was known as a conscientious and hardworking member of the committees on commerce and on Indian affairs. One of his senatorial colleagues said of him: "While the powers of his intellect were upon a high plane, yet were I called upon to define the impression that remains strongest with me, I should say it was that of incomparable rectitude and dignity." [11] But Buckingham's place in Connecticut and American history is based

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[11] John J. Ingalls, quoted in "William Alfred Buckingham," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 3:229.

primarily on his effectiveness as Connecticut's governor during the Civil War.

In some respects Buckingham's challenge as governor was not unlike Lincoln's as president. Just as Lincoln was confronted with a northern constituency that contained pro-southern and "peace-at-any-price" advocates, so Buckingham found himself during the war challenged by a good many constituents who were not convinced that either the preservation of the Union or the termination of slavery justified the horrors of internecine war.

There were a number of Connecticuters—mostly Democrats—who despite Unionist strength in the state would not accept the thesis that the South had been responsible for the war; they maintained that the war had been caused by a justifiable resort to arms by southerners who were about to be deprived of their fair claims to the West by Black (that is, abolitionist) Republicans. These Peace Democrats demanded that the South be allowed to leave the Union in peace or that the Union be reconstructed on the basis of a northern guarantee to the South that slavery would forever be undisturbed south of 36° 30′. The Peace Democrats thundered against the battlefield butchery to which Lincoln had committed the nation and demanded an end to the carnage.

The leader of the Peace Democrats in Connecticut was Thomas Hart Seymour, a Hartford lawyer. Seymour was in many respects a far more impressive figure than was Buckingham. Buckingham had a common-school education while Seymour was a highly educated jurist; Buckingham was something of a parochial Yankee, his travels limited to occasional trips to New York City, Boston, Worcester, and Saratoga, while Seymour had served in the Mexican War and had been an American diplomat for six years in Russia. Even in governmental service Seymour was the more distinguished of the two, having been a congressman in his twenties and governor of Connecticut from 1850 to 1853 while Buckingham was devoting his attention to business.

Defeated for the governorship by Buckingham in the state election of 1860, Seymour emerged during the war years as

Connecticut's most memorable opponent of Lincoln's policy of re-establishing the Union by the force of arms. Seymour and his cohorts hammered away at incompetent generals, war profiteers, and alleged unconstitutional acts by Lincoln and regularly insisted that the war would take thousands of lives, cost billions of dollars, and still result in a deadlock that would insure the success of the Confederacy. Spelling out his position in July 1862, Seymour wrote: "The monstrous fallacy of the present day, that the Union can be re-established by destroying any part of the South is one which will burst with the shells that are thrown into defenseless cities . . . a spectacle for the reproach or the comiseration [*sic*] of the civilized world." [12]

In the gubernatorial election of 1863, Seymour and the state's other Peace Democrats hoped to capitalize on war weariness, a succession of Union military disasters, and Connecticut's reservations regarding the Conscription Act of 1863. Seymour declared that as governor he would not enforce conscription and damned Lincoln for his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus for anyone seeking to avoid the draft; and he accused the Buckingham Administration of unthinking adherence to Lincoln's policies and mismanagement.

Pushed to the wall by Seymour and threatened by low morale among northerners, Buckingham and his fellow Republicans pulled out all the stops to keep Connecticut firmly in the Unionist column. Troops in Connecticut's regiments were given special leave to come home and, it was hoped, cast their ballots for Buckingham. Federal appointees were mobilized for the campaign and a host of national Republican figures was brought into the state to speak at Buckingham rallies. But most important of all, Buckingham and the entire state Republican ticket aimed their shots at Seymour, pointing out that as governor he would be a menace to the continuation of the state's war effort. Although the campaign was long and ferocious, in the end Buckingham was able to carry the election by calling successfully on Connecticut's antislavery, pro-Union majority.

The state election of 1863 was the high-water mark for Con-

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[12] Quoted in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 304.

necticut's Peace Democrats. By the elections of 1864, with Gettysburg and Vicksburg history and Grant in command, both Buckingham and Lincoln were victors. There was little suspense in the 1865 election, too. Sherman was slashing through South Carolina after perfecting his scorched-earth policy in Georgia, and Grant was hounding Lee into submission. Finally, on the morning of election day—April 3, 1865—news arrived that Grant had captured Richmond. No furloughed soldiers' votes were needed as Buckingham swept to an easy win over his Democratic opponent.

Buckingham's tenure in office during the war years was of critical importance to the state's war effort. Like Jonathan Trumbull during the Revolutionary War, he was the heart and soul of Connecticut's mobilization. On that dark, rain-whipped Friday of April 12, 1861, when Connecticut heard the news that Sumter had been attacked, the state—like most of the Union—was pitifully unprepared for war.

> [T]he militia had been a laughing stock for thirty years; the militia laws, as then constituted, could not be enforced; arsenals were in disrepair, equipment obsolete. In the entire state there were but 1,020 army muskets of Mexican War vintage, and 2,000 percussion muskets, heavy, unreliable, practically useless as weapons. Ammunition was also in short supply; only 50,000 ball cartridges had been purchased since December 1860. Thirty pieces of artillery, all smooth-bore napoleons, were owned by the state, but there were no caissons, harnesses, or baggage wagons.[13]

What Connecticut did have on that black Friday were a firm resolve to stand for the Union and a governor who was absolutely determined that the state's Unionist convictions be translated into Union victory. With Buckingham overseeing the state's war effort, Connecticut made a major contribution to the Union victory.

> No war governor was more indefatigable than he in visiting Connecticut soldiers at training camps in the state or in actual theaters of operations. He was always the chief speaker at war meetings in the cities and large towns . . . and he made it a point to answer personally all direct inquiries from Connecticut soldiers in the field. . . . Constantly shuttling between the two Connecticut capitals of Hartford and New Haven and the three national centers of Boston, New York, and Washington, he put in a twelve-hour day, seven-day week schedule during the war years. With not a quarter of the staff personnel enjoyed by Governors Andrew of Massachusetts, Morgan of New York, or Curtin of Pennsylvania, Buckingham was able to cope with the constant pressures of and multiplying complexities of raising, equipping, and caring for an army of some 50,000 men.[14]

After Sumter, Union sentiment blazed forth. Ministers preaching from Elijah thundered for war; bands blared martial tunes; war meetings were called around the state; banks opened their vaults to offer money for the state's immediate military expenditures; and young and not-so-young Connecticuters—farmers, factory workers, clerks, merchants, and lawyers—left fields, factories, offices, stores, and—most important—homes, to wear Union blue. Within three days the first regiment of Connecticut volunteers was formed; within three weeks Connecticut had mustered six full regiments. By the time Appomattox came, Connecticut had given to the Union Army over 50,000 men who made up thirty regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, two of heavy artillery and three battalions of light artillery. To the Union Navy the state provided 250 officers and 2,500 men.

The dedication and patriotism of these Connecticuters carried them to almost every theater of the war. The state's troops won their red badges of courage at Cedar Mountain, Port Royal, Roanoke Island, New Bern, Port Hudson, Fort Fisher, Vicksburg, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Island Number Ten and along the bloodstained path cut by the Army of the Potomac as it traded blows with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in the decisive period between Antietam and Appomattox.

At Antietam in September 1862 the 14th Connecticut was advancing through a field of ripening corn toward a sunken road (to be known thereafter in American military history as "bloody

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[13] Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 47.

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[14] Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 72.

lane") when it was pinned down by a wall of fire. The men of the 14th held their position for two hours, hugging the ground while they loaded, capped, and fired their rifles at the cloud of smoke yards ahead that marked the Confederate position. The 11th Connecticut traded fire at point-blank range with Confederate gunners across Antietam Creek long enough to permit the 51st New York and the 51st Pennsylvania to charge across the Stone Bridge and rout a Confederate brigade. But no state unit had a more blistering time at Antietam than the 16th Connecticut. As it gave support to an artillery battery under attack, the 16th was hit by a flank attack by men from A. P. Hill's division. Before it broke and fled, the 16th was cut to pieces while its regimental officers gave confusing orders that nobody understood. Of the 940 men who had been with the 16th at the start of the fire-fight, only 200 were left alive to retreat to cover.

Almost as devastating to the Connecticut troops at Antietam as the deaths of their comrades was the treatment available for the wounded. One Connecticut soldier described the situation:

> In a room 12 feet by 20 feet a bloody table stood and around it five surgeons. A wounded man was laid on the table and it took but a few seconds for them to decide what to do and but a few minutes to do it. The amputated limbs were thrown out of the window. In forty-eight hours there were as many as two cart loads of amputated legs, arms, and hands in the pile.[15]

In December 1862 the Union blue—including the troops from Connecticut—paid dearly for the determination of Ambrose E. Burnside, the handsome West Pointer whom Lincoln had placed in command of the Army of the Potomac in November. Whatever military competence Burnside possessed was not evident at the battle of Fredericksburg, where Burnside massed his army of 113,000 to attack Lee's force of 75,000 well dug in on Mayre's Heights. Six times Burnside sent his Union infantry across open ground toward a stone wall at the foot of Mayre's Heights. Six times Confederate artillery and infantry fire behind the stone wall mowed down the advancing Yankees. At the end of the senseless attacks the Union had lost almost 13,000 men to only

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[15] Quotation cited in Niven, *Connecticut for the Union*, p. 223.

5,000 casualties for the Confederacy. The 14th Connecticut was in the first wave, but it paid a terrible price for the honor, suffering losses of twenty-five percent. The 27th Connecticut was in the second wave—and left a third of its strength dead and dying on the slopes of Mayre's Heights.

After Fredericksburg, Burnside was replaced by General Joseph Hooker. For a time things looked up for the Connecticut troops in the Army of the Potomac. Rations improved, mountains of supplies that had been gathering dust in Washington were distributed to the men, and paymasters appeared to hand out as much as six months' back pay to the Connecticut regiments. But when Hooker had the opportunity at Chancellorsville in May 1863 to go against Lee, he did no better than McClellan or Burnside. Hooker worked out a neat battle plan that called for a double envelopment of Lee's army. When the Confederates stopped the Union thrusts, however, Hooker apparently ran out of ideas and ordered his men to reform defensively. Lee, ever pleased by Union tactical paralysis, then sent 25,000 of his men under Stonewall Jackson along a circuitous route to hit the Union right flank. When Jackson attacked at dusk on May 2, 1863, the troops of the 17th Connecticut, square in the path of Jackson's drive, were lounging, playing cards, or cooking supper. Then the woods came alive with bugle calls and a rush of rabbits and foxes driven from the forest ahead of the advancing Rebels. The men of the 17th grabbed their rifles and fired at point-blank range as the enemy burst upon them. While the 17th fell back toward Chancellorsville, valuable time was gained for Hooker to set up a new defense line. On the next day—May 3, 1863—the 14th Connecticut was hit at its front and right flank, losing over 30 of its depleted strength of 219. After two such days of pounding, Hooker retreated across the Rappahannock.

Such successive poundings at the hands of Lee and the Confederates took their toll on the morale of the Connecticut troops. One Connecticut sergeant wrote after Chancellorsville:

> Oh, it seemed dreadful to think that with all the advantages we had and everything in our favor, we should be whipped,—whipped so easy too, by a party of men, even dirtier and worse looking than we

were, with not half the fighting qualities or discipline that the army of the Potomac possessed.[16]

But the tide was soon to change. Following Chancellorsville Lee moved north into Pennsylvania, hoping by a victory on northern soil to weaken Union morale, encourage the northern Peace Democrats to come down harder against the war, and possibly gain European recognition of the Confederacy. When Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia met the Army of the Potomac in Pennsylvania, the Union troops had still another commander—General George Gordon Meade, a tough, steady man with the ability to make sound decisions in fluid tactical situations. The two armies, following a parallel course northward, finally met on July 1–3, 1863, in the formerly quiet little town of Gettysburg. For the first two days of the battle the two armies maneuvered for position, with Meade's forces winding up on Cemetery Hill and Lee's men three quarters of a mile away at Seminary Ridge. In the afternoon of the third day came the most important hours of the most important battle of the Civil War. About one o'clock some 172 Confederate guns opened fire at Cemetery Hill. When the firing stopped, three Confederate divisions, 15,000 strong, advanced over open ground from Seminary Ridge to break through the Union center.

Among the Union units atop Cemetery Hill were three Connecticut regiments—the 14th, the 17th, and the 27th—and the 14th found itself at the Union left, directly in the path of the Confederate charge under Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble. Sergeant Edward Wade of the Connecticut 14th has left us a description of the titanic clash:

> About 3 o'clock the enemy's fire died away, and we could see in the distance about a quarter of a mile, extending across the plain, and coming towards us, two rebel lines of battle, preceded by a line of skirmishers, and a third line in the rear. The spectacle was magnificent. On they came, with colors flying, and bayonets shining in the sunlight. . . . When the enemy had advanced their first line to within two hundred yards our fire spread almost simultaneously along the whole line. The enemy's first line was broken and the second line came on in the same good style as the first did. They fired into us, but they could not stand the raking fire we gave them, and so they too fell back . . . Detached portions of their lines then rallied, and for a while maintained their ground, but being cut down by our terribly destructive fire, they commenced falling back. By this time the 14th was all excitement. They remembered Antietam, and Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, and over the wall they went, nothing could stop them, and soon they were fighting hand to hand with the rebels. We captured 6 battle flags and forty prisoners, and over one hundred prisoners came in and surrendered to us afterwards, including 2 Colonels, 3 Lieut. Colonels, majors and any number of line officers.[17]

Although the cream of the Army of Northern Virginia was decimated on the bloody slopes of Cemetery Hill, the Confederacy was far from finished. The Confederate dream did not die until, with Grant as General in Chief of the Armies of the United States and Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac, a series of hammerlike blows were struck at Lee between the spring of 1864 and the spring of 1865. But Grant's blows at Lee were delivered at terrible cost to the Union blue, including the regiments from Connecticut. At the Battle of the Wilderness (May 4–5, 1864) Lee caught Grant in the same dense forest where Jackson had attacked Hooker at Chancellorsville. Grant took the challenge and fought his way out, but not before the Union lost 17,000 men in two days and the 14th Connecticut left 100 of its comrades behind. Following the Wilderness came Spotsylvania (May 8–12, 1864) where the 14th Connecticut fought desperately at the "Bloody Angle" and held off a vicious Confederate counterattack. Pushing on relentlessly, Grant next attacked at Cold Harbor (June 3, 1864), where in two hours the Union lost 12,000 men, the 14th Connecticut lost 20, and the Second Connecticut Artillery took the heaviest losses in a single engagement of any Connecticut regiment in the war—75 killed and 184 wounded. There then followed Grant's nine-month seige of Petersburg, about which a soldier of the 14th Connecticut wrote: "If there was one thing more than another that became indelibly impressed upon the men's

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[16] Quoted in Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, p. 231.

[17] Quoted in Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, pp. 231–232.

minds of the Fourteenth . . . it was plodding through this everlasting Virginia mud.'' [18] And finally, agonizingly, in April 1865 it was all over. Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, found himself squeezed between Grant and Sheridan without rations, and finally requested an ''interview'' with Grant. When Grant went to accept Lee's surrender, he was escorted by the First Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. Connecticuters had thus done their duty for the Stars and Stripes, but the cost was high. Of almost 55,000 Connecticut men in the Union Army and Navy, over 20,000 became casualties.

It was not only the state's soldiers and sailors who gave testimony to their dedication to the Union during the Civil War. The inadequate war-making apparatus of the federal government made it necessary for Connecticut's civilian population to join the war effort in support of the men in service. Urged on by Governor Buckingham, Connecticut's towns and cities formed voluntary societies to render a variety of services to the military, and Buckingham appointed state agents in New York City and Washington to supervise Connecticut services for the state's troops.

Communities collected blankets, clothing, medical supplies, and food for the men at the front. While these supplies were delivered to army units throughout the war, often shipped free of charge by the Hartford and New Haven Steamboat Company and insured without premiums by Hartford's insurance companies, special efforts were made for the soldiers' comfort on holidays. Every Thanksgiving and Christmas during the war tons of food were sent to the troops in the field. For the Christmas comfort of the state troops on the Carolina coast in 1863, Bridgeport alone sent 471 barrels, 181 boxes, 20 half-barrels, 4 kegs, 1 firkin, and 1 bale of food and clothing.

When special needs of the troops were evident, Connecticuters responded with special dispatch. During the winter of 1863–1864 the United States Sanitary Commission and the Army Medical Corps issued a frantic call for fresh vegetables to stem an outbreak of scurvy in the Union Army. Towns all over

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[18] Quoted in Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, p. 233.

the state threw themselves into a major effort and collected 700 barrels of vegetables to be shipped free of charge to Washington, where the Navy Department assumed responsibility for transportation and distribution to the troops.

Connecticut's voluntary aid societies also concerned themselves with the care of needy soldiers' families. Even when a Connecticut soldier was receiving both state and federal payments, the financial situation was hard for the family at home pressed by wartime inflation. When a soldier was incapacitated, captured, or killed, all pay stopped and the family was the recipient of no insurance or pension. What happened under such situations was grimly reported by the *Hartford Courant* in December 1864, when it told of a soldier's widow and two children found in a Hartford tenement destitute and hungry. During the winter of 1864–1865 it was estimated that seventy percent of the charity cases in Connecticut were soldiers' families. Voluntary societies did what they could for these victims of the war, distributing food and clothing collected at fairs, mass meetings, and benefits for soldiers' families.

Another focus of the war effort of the state's civilian population was care of the Connecticut troops who were wounded or ill from malaria, dysentery, typhoid, pneumonia, and typhus. Even before the Union Army was overwhelmed with casualties from Antietam through Petersburg, there were never adequate facilities to deal with the wounded. Battlefield medical facilities were primitive and overcrowded. The army hospitals that were developed around Washington could not handle the swelling tide of Union wounded. To fill the breach, civilian volunteers from the state as well as relatives of the wounded frequently went to care for incapacitated soldiers in makeshift hospitals near the front or in the hospitals around Washington. Harriet Hawley, wife of General Joseph Hawley, wrote of her experience in the spring of 1865 at Wilmington in helping to care for thousands of Union troops recently freed from Confederate prisoner-of-war camps:

> You know that over nine thousand of our prisoners were delivered to us here; and no human tongue or pen can describe the horrible

> condition which they were in. Starving to death, covered with vermin, with no clothing but the filthy rags they had worn during their whole imprisonment—a period of from five to twenty months; cramped by long sitting in one position, so that they could not straighten their limbs; their feet rotted off! o God! I cannot even now endure to speak of it.
>
> Of course they brought the jail fever with them—it could not be otherwise; yet they must be fed, and cleansed, and clothed, and cared for. There are no special hospital accomodations here worth mentioning. There were not doctors enough and those here overworked themselves, and caught the fever and died. Buildings of all sorts were converted into temporary hospitals, and the nurses (enlisted men) fell sick at the rate of fifty a day.[19]

At home, scores of Connecticut women volunteered for service at Knight Hospital, a United States Army hospital in New Haven that Governor Buckingham enlarged during the war. Daughters of the best New Haven families put in long hours to comfort those troops who would carry the scars of war long after Appomattox.

The state's manufacturing genius also made enormous amounts of materiel available to the war effort.

Connecticut was a major producer of arms. It has been said that Colt's Armory alone produced enough rifles to equip the entire Army of the Potomac and enough revolvers to outfit every Union soldier. Other major companies such as the Winchester Arms Company and Christian Sharps' Rifle Company very early in the war were each producing about 1,000 rifles a month. Smaller companies sprang up around the state and by the period 1863–1865 were turning out impressive numbers of weapons. By February 1864 the Norwich Arms Company was manufacturing each week some 1,200 muskets, several hundred breech-loading Kentucky rifles and carbines, and 3,000 bayonets. The Connecticut Arms Company of Norfolk was producing 1,400 muskets a month by 1863, and by the end of the war the Eagle Arms Company of Mansfield was manufacturing 300 rifles and 400 bayonets a day. The Ames Iron Works of Falls Village manufactured 5,600-pound wrought-iron rifles capable of firing a 56-pound projectile five miles, and the Collins Company of Collinsville, the world's largest producer of axes and edged tools, diversified its operation to turn out sabers and bayonets. Hartford County was the center of the state's ammunition industry, which included both a number of small shops that manufactured powder and cartridges and the 125-building complex of the Hazard Powder Company of Enfield that produced twelve tons of powder a day.

Moreover, Connecticut's manufactures for the military were not restricted to arms and ammunition. Textile and clothing manufacturers produced uniforms, and factories in the Naugatuck Valley manufactured millions of brass uniform buttons. The Union Army's needs for rubber blankets, ponchos, and boots were met by state firms such as the Haywood Rubber Company of Colchester, the Goodyear Rubber Company of Naugatuck, and the Candee Rubber Company of New Haven. New Britain led in the Connecticut production of saddles and horse-drawn transport equipment, and New Haven carriage companies converted from producing fine carriages for Southern planters to the manufacture of wagons for the United States Army.

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[19] Quoted in Trecker, *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders*, p. 91.

PEOPLE LIVING IN HARTFORD OR OWNING LOTS there in 1640

John Arnold
Seth Allens
Jeremy Adams
Thomas Alcock or Alcott
Nathaniel Allen
Mathew Allen

William Andrews, lot administrator

Thomas Bliss, Jr.
Thomas Bunce
William Blumfield
Richard Butler
John B _______
John Barnard
Andrew Bacon
John Biddell - tan yard, prob. tannery
Mary Betts
William Butler
Benjamine Burr
Thomas Birchwood or Burchard
Thomas Barnes

James Cole
Capt. John Cullock
Clement Chaplin
Richard Clark
Richard Cummings
Nathaniel Clark
Noah Clark
Mrs. Dorothy Chester

Phillip Davis
Robert Day
Nathaniel Duke?

Joseph Easton
James Ensign
Edwin Elmer
Nathaniel Ely

L. Field
Zachery Field

T. H. Gridley
William Gibbons, of great wealth
Marshall George Graves
Samuel Greenhill's heirs
Seth Grant
William Goodwin, Elder
Richard Goodman
Onias Goodwin
John Ginnings

Thomas Hull
William Hyde
William Holton
Benjamine Henkley
John Hale
William Hills or Hillis
Edwin Hopkins Esq., bought 3 house lots
John Hopkins
Thomas Hooker, Pastor
John Haynes, Esq.
John Harvard
Stephen Hart
William Heaton Hayden
Samuel Hale
Edward Hopkins
Thomas Hales
Nathaniel Harding
John Hall
Thomas Hungerfort

Jonas Ince

Ralph Keeler
William Kelsey
Seth Kellogg

Richard Lyman
Edwin Leroy
Thomas Lord, Jr.
Thomas Lord
Richard Lord
William Lewis

John Moody
Mathew Marvin
John Maynard
Thomas Munson
John Marsh
John Morrice

John Olmstead
Richard Olmstead
James Olmstead

Stephen Post
J. Pierce
Paul Peck
William Pantry
John Pierce
William Pratt
John Pratt
William Parker
William Phillips
John Purches

Richard Risley
Thomas Root
William Rusco
Nathaniel Richards

George Steele
George Stocking
Giles Smith
Thomas Seldon
Arthur Smith
Thomas Standley
John Steele
Thomas Scott
Edwin Stebbins
Timothy Standley
John Stone
Richard Seamor or Seymour
William Spencer
Thomas Spencer
Thomas Stanton
John Skinner
Sam S.________, thatcher

John Talcott or John T. Alcott

Nathaniel Ward
George Wyllys, Esq., several lots
Thomas Wells
John Webster
William Whiting, merchant
William Wesley
William Wells, Waits, or Watts
Richard Watts
John Wilcock
Jay Webster
Gregory Wilterton? Wilcoxton -- Tan yard or tannery
Deacon Andrew Warner
Samuel Wakeman
John White
John Warner
Samuel Whitehead
Richard Webb
Thomas Woodford
William Westwood
Samuel Wren?
Robert Wade
William Wadsworth

Roads in 1640 Hartford, CT

Centinal Hill to Cow Pasture
Little River to North Meadow
Seth Grant's to Centinal Hill
To Brick Hill
Mill to Country
Highway on the Bank of the River
To the South Meadow, Indian's Landing
To the Dutch Landing
Mill to South Meadow
George Steele's to the Great Swamp
Old Ox Pasture to cow pasture
Meeting House to Mill
Meeting HOuse Landing to Little Meadow
To Ox Pasture and Wethersfield

Items noted:

Meeting House Yard
Market Place
Jail
Pound
Landing
Little Meadow
Pasture
Mill, not sure who ran or owned the mill lot

Interesting that a large tree is on the 1640 map. Would guess this map was drawn later by information they had and the large tree is at the place of the Charter Oak whose story has been written. Also noted on the map that in 1824 the shore line was in a different place as though some of the sand had been washed out to sea and more sea covered the land.

One of the reasons for doing this study of Hartford is that in 1640 James Fitch would have been 18 years old, have been in America for about 2 years and would have been under the tutelege of Thomas Hooker, pastor, of the Hartford church and a friend of the family. He probably was living in Hartford at this time until he went to Saybrook.

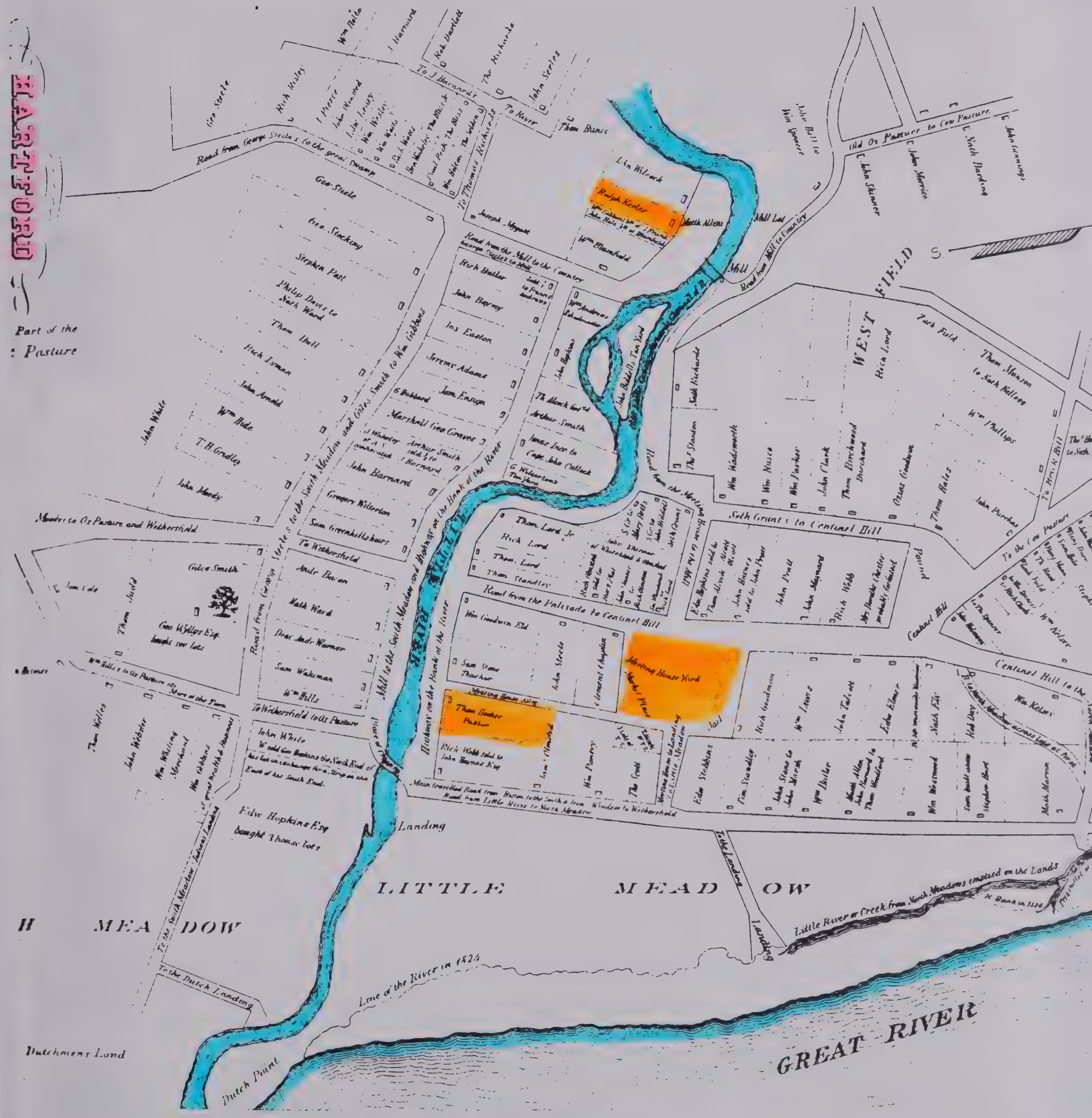
We also notice that Ralph Keeler was in Hartford in 1640 and then he moved to Norwalk as did some others that had been in Hartford.

Mathew Marvin also moved to the Norwalk area. Listed among the founders of Norwalk in 1649 were:

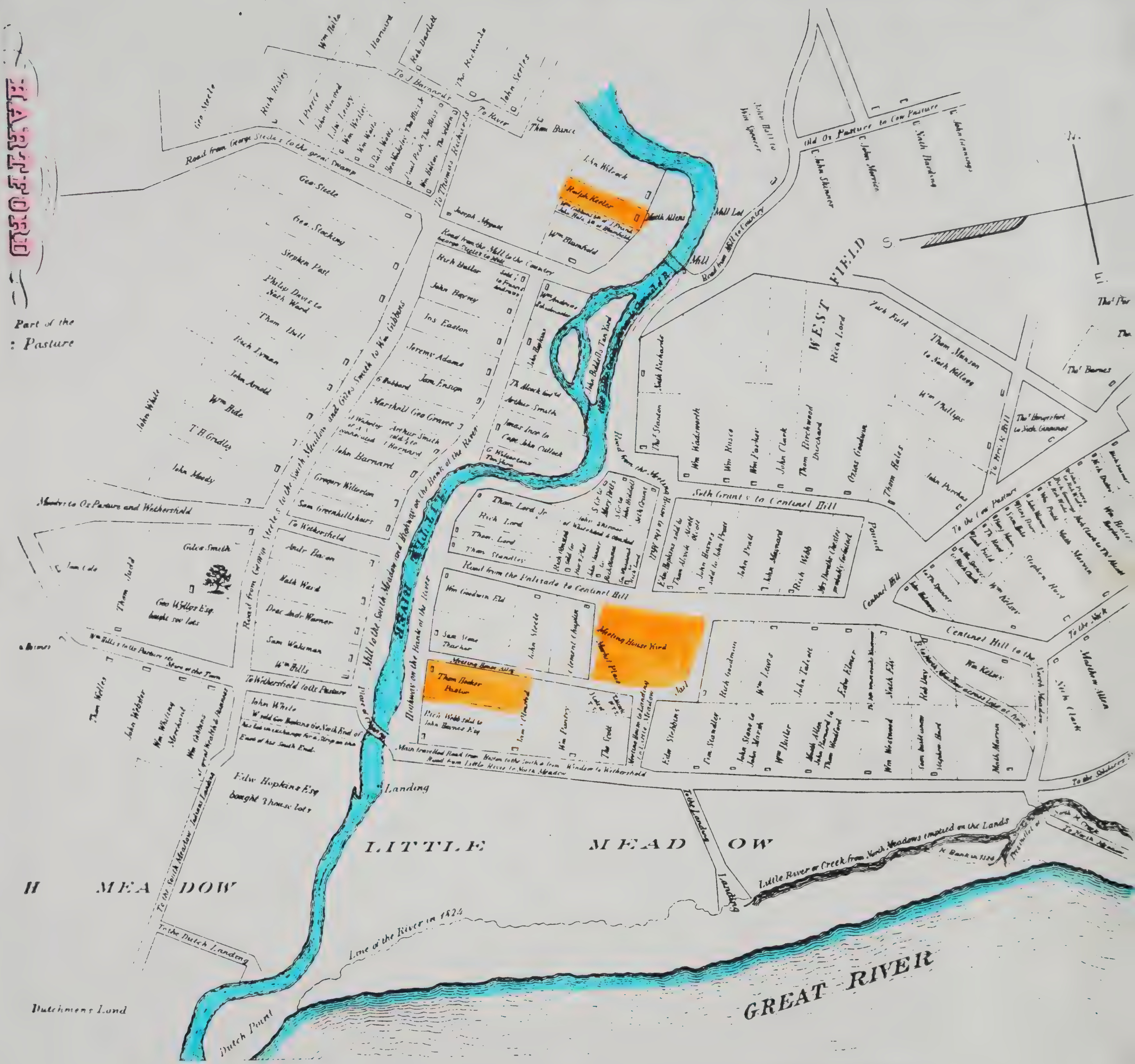
Nathaniel Eli, or Ely
Samuel Hales
Thomas Hales
Ralph Keeler
Mathew Marvin, Sr.
Mathew Marvin, Jr.
Jonathan Marsh
Richard Olmstead
Nathaniel Richards
Richard Webb

All these names were listed in the 1640 Hartford list of lot owners.

They would have settled with Thomas Fitch in Norwalk.

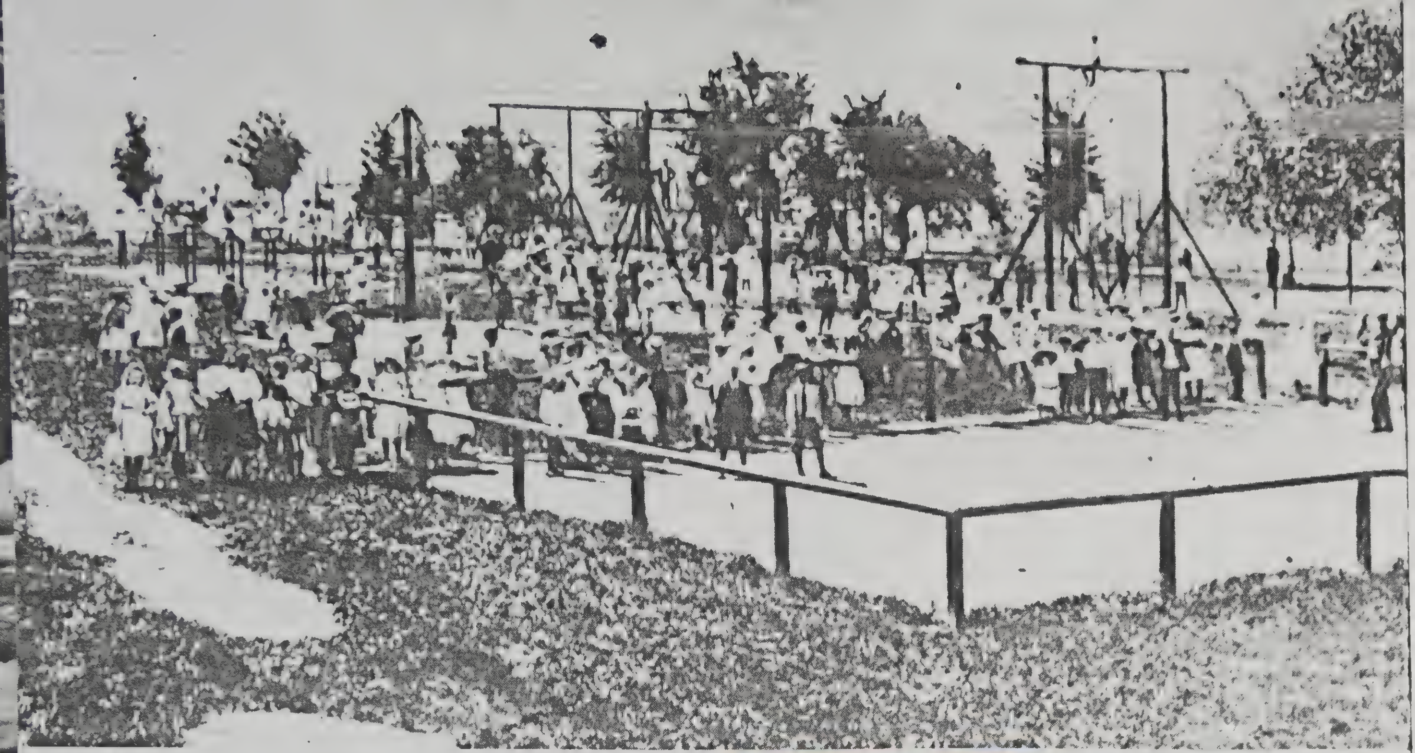

HARTFORD
Part of the Pasture
Road from George Steele's to the great Swamp
To J Barnard's
To River
Geo Steele
Geo Stocking
Stephen Hart
Tho Scott
John White
Thom Bunce
John Wilcock
Ralph Keeler
Mill Lot
Mill
Road from Mill to Country
Old Ox Pasture to Cow Pasture
WEST FIELD S
Road from the Mill to the Country
Rich Butler
John Barney
Jos Easton
Jeremy Adams
John Barnard
Gregory Wilterton
To Wethersfield
Meadow to Ox Pasture and Wethersfield
Giles Smith
Geo Wyllys Esq. bought sev lots
Mill to the South Meadow and Highway on the Bank of the River
LITTLE RIVER
Road from the Palisado to Centinel Hill
Wm Goodwin Eld
Meeting House Yard
Tho Hooker Pasture
Centinel Hill to the
Seth Grant's to Centinel Bill
Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow
To Wethersfield Ox Pasture
Edw Hopkins Esq bought 3 house lots
Landing
To the Landing
LITTLE MEADOW
H MEADOW
To the South Meadow
To the Dutch Landing
Line of the River in 1824
Little River or Creek from North Meadows emptied on the Lands
GREAT RIVER
Dutchmens Land
Dutch Point

THIS COPY OF A 1640 map shows how Hartford was laid out less than ten years after its settlement by the English colonists. The road along the river—approximately where an interstate highway now runs—says: "Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow." The Little River later was called the Park River, or the Hog River, and is now mostly underground in the downtown area. In the lower right-hand corner of the map is Dutch Point, site of the original Dutch trading post in 1633, and "Dutchmens Land." The house of Thomas Hooker was to the right of the Little River, one lot west of the "Main travelled Road." (HC)


HARTFORD
Part of the
: Pasture
Geo. Steele
Rich Risley
Wm Bails
J Harward
Rob. Bartlett
Tho Richards
John Searles
To J Barnard's
To River
Tho Bunce
Road from George Steele's to the great Swamp
To Thomas Richards
Geo. Steele
Geo. Stocking
Stephen Post
Philip Davis to Nath Ward
Thom Bull
Rich Lyman
John Arnold
Wm Bide
T H Gridley
John White
John Moody
Joseph Mygatt
Road from the Mill to the Country
Rich Butler
John Barney
Jos Easton
Jeremy Adams
Jam Ensign
G Hubbard
Marshall Geo Graves
Arthur Smith
John Barnard
Gregory Wilterton
Sam Greenhill's heirs
To Wethersfield
Road from George Steele's to the South Meadow and Giles Smith to Wm Gibbons
John Wilcock
Ralph Keeler
Wm Blumfield
Nath Allens
Mill Lot
Mill
Road from Mill to Country
John Bidwell's Tan Yard
Arthur Smith
Cape John Cullock
Old Ox Pasture to Cow Pasture
John Skinner
John Marvin
Nath Harding
WEST FIELD
Rich Lord
Park Field
Thom Manson to Nath Kellogg
Wm Phillips
Thos Barnes
Thos Stanton
Nath Richards
Wm Wadsworth
Wm Ruscoe
Wm Parker
John Clark
Thom Birchwood
Ozias Goodwin
Thom Hales
John Purchas
Seth Grant's to Centinel Hill
Tho Hungerford to Nich Ginnings
To Brick Hill
To the Cow Pasture
Thom Lord Jr
Rich Lord
Thom Lord
Thom Standley
Road from the Palisado to Centinel Hill
Meadow to Ox Pasture and Wethersfield
Giles Smith
Thom Judd
Geo Wyllys Esq bought six lots
Andr Bacon
Nath Ward
Deac Andr Warner
Sam Wakeman
Wm Bills
To Wethersfield to the Pasture
Thom Welles
John Webster
Wm Whiting
Wm Gibbons
John White
Edw Hopkins Esq bought 3 house lots
LITTLE RIVER
Mill to the South Meadow and Highway on the Bank of the River
Wm Goodwin Eld
Sam Stone Teacher
John Steele
Clement Chaplin
Meeting House Yard
Meeting House Alley
Thom Hooker Pastor
Rich Webb sold to John Barnes Esq
Wm Pantry
The Gott
Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow
Landing
Edw Stebbins
Tim Standley
John Stone to John Marsh
Wm Butler
John Pratt
John Maynard
Rich Webb
John Talcott
Rich Goodman
Wm Lewis
Edw Elmer
Nath Ely
Wm Westwood
Stephen Hart
Nath Marvin
Matthew Allen
Centinel Hill
Centinel Hill to the North Meadow
Wm Kelsey
Wm Hosier
Stephen Hart
To the Neck
To the Soldiers Field
To North Meadow
Pound
LITTLE MEADOW
H MEADOW
To the South Meadow
Little River or Creek from North Meadows emptied on the Lands
Line of the River in 1824
To the Dutch Landing
Dutch Point
Dutchmens Land
GREAT RIVER
N.
S.
E.

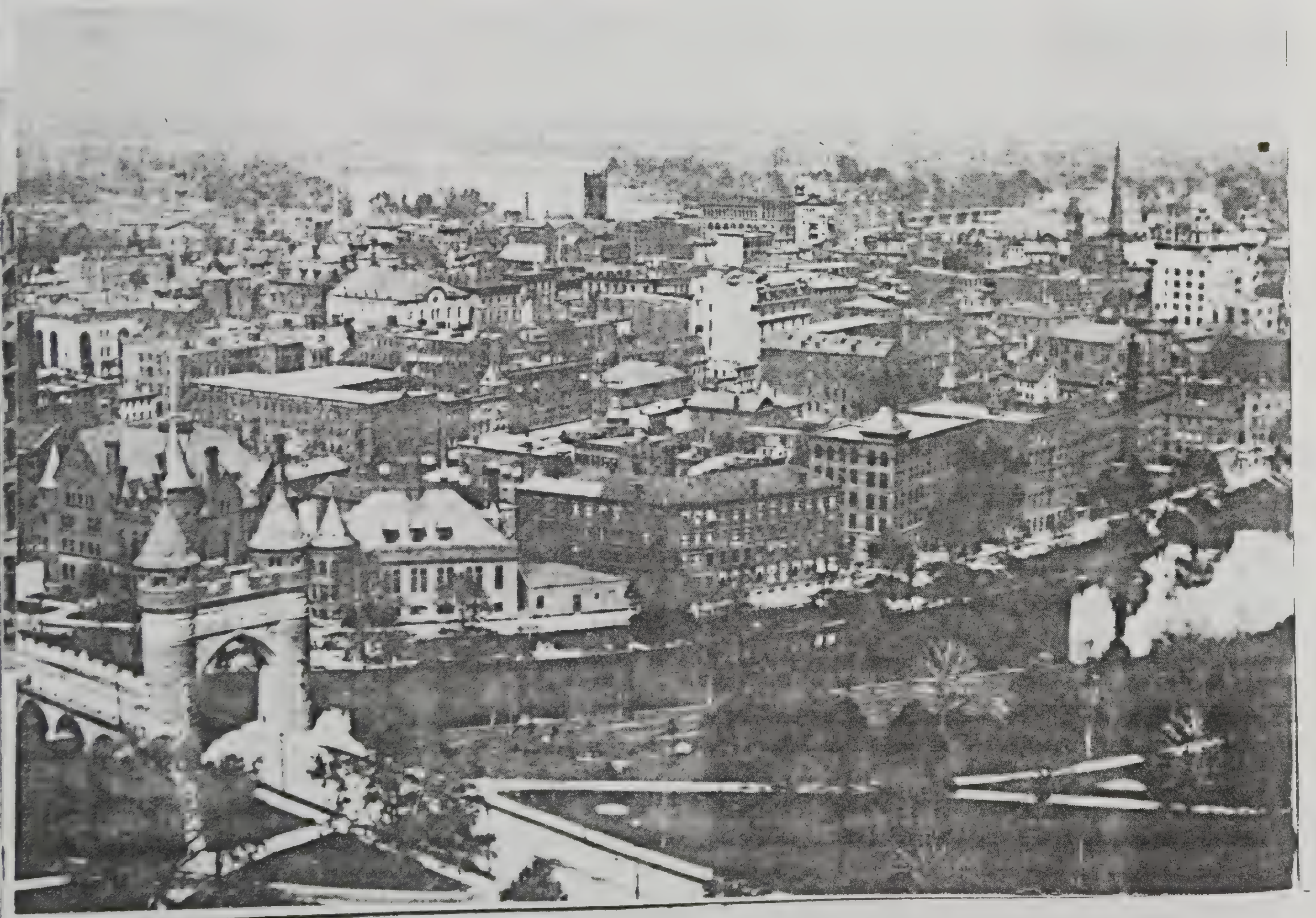
THIS COPY OF A 1640 map shows how Hartford was laid out less than ten years after its settlement by the English colonists. The road along the river—approximately where an interstate highway now runs—says: "Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow." The Little River later was called the Park River, or the Hog River, and is now mostly underground in the downtown area. In the lower right-hand corner of the map is Dutch Point, site of the original Dutch trading post in 1633, and "Dutchmens Land." The house of Thomas Hooker was to the right of the Little River, one lot west of the "Main travelled Road." (HC)

Hartford



CHILDREN PLAY in the outdoor gymnasium in Hartford's Pope Park in 1914. The eighty-nine-acre park was given to the city in 1895 by industrialist Col. Albert A. Pope.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW of Hartford in 1914, seen from the dome of the State Capitol: In the foreground, near the Memorial Arch, are the old YMCA buildings, opened in 1893, and only recently demolished. The downtown had become crowded with multi-story buildings, many of them now-departed manufacturing plants.

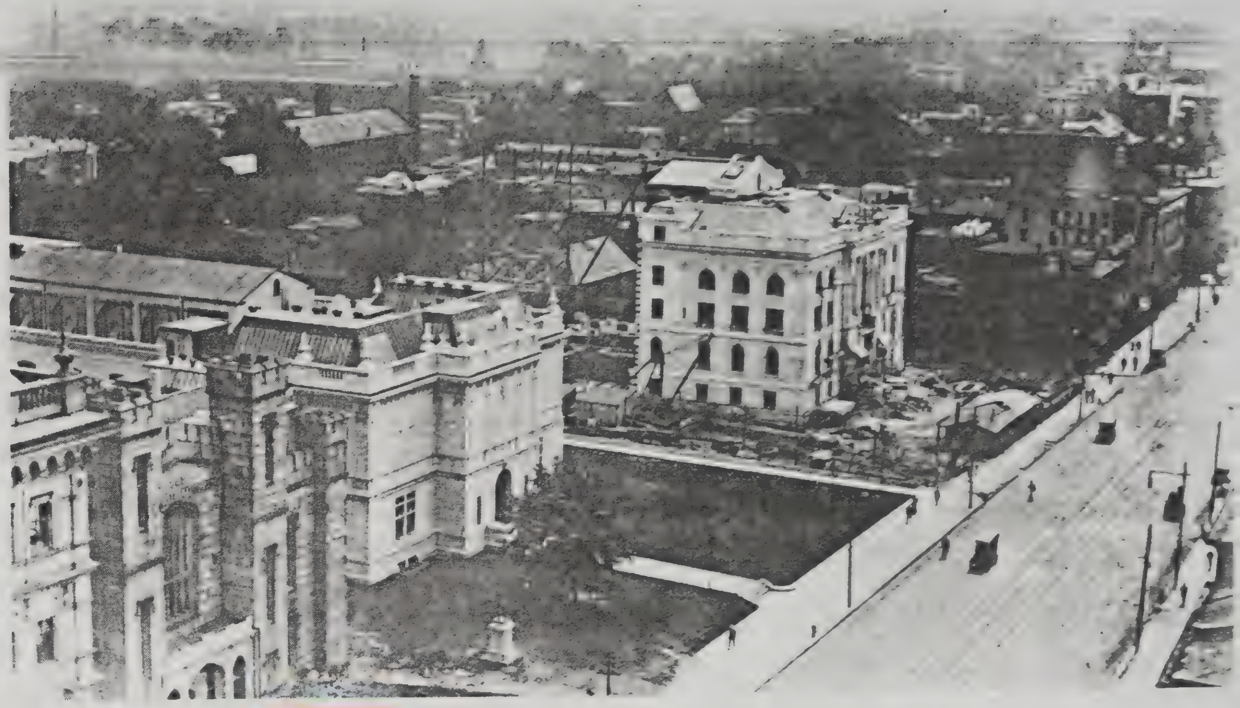


FEEDING THE GULLS at Ocean Beach Park in New London was a formal pastime around 1910. Ocean Beach later became the site of a city-owned beach and amusement park.

THESE VIEWS of Chalkers Beach in Old Saybrook and Middle Beach Avenue in Madison show what Connecticut's shorelines looked like in the years between 1910 and 1920.

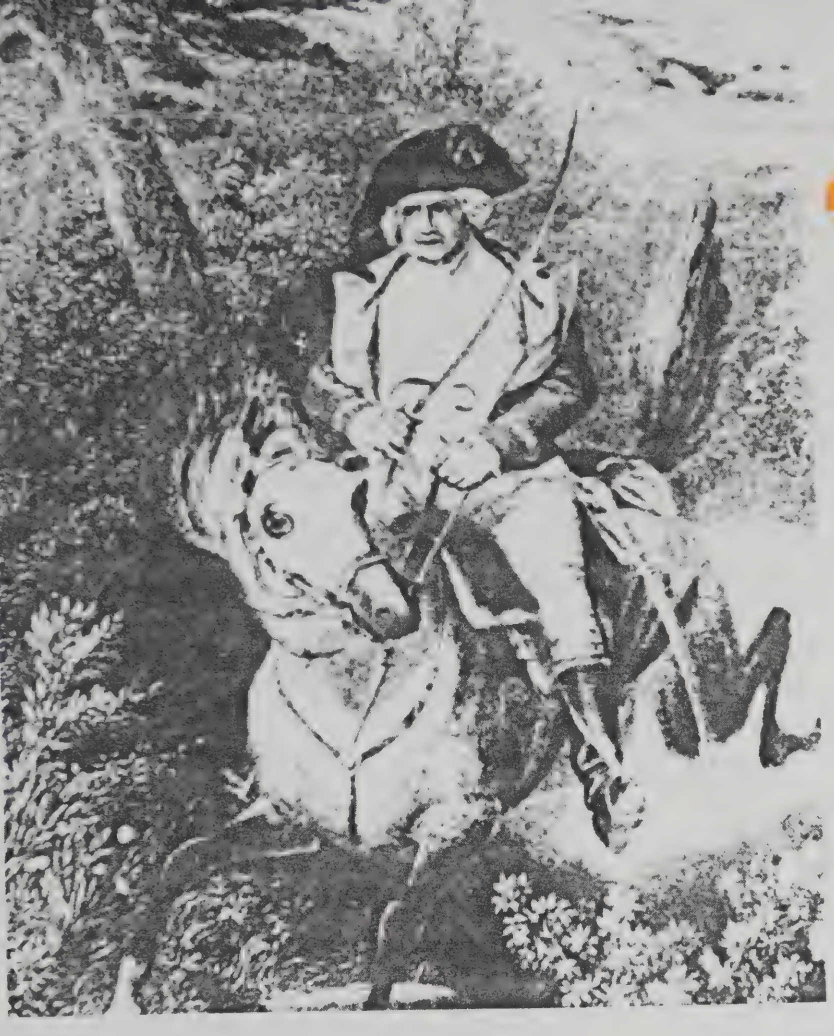
ICE CUT ON TROUT BROOK in West Hartford was carried into the ice house on the bank of the small river, to be distributed by Hartford's Trout Brook Ice Company. In the spring of 1906, Hartford's three ice companies divided the town and agreed to service only the customers in their own districts. City newspapers condemned this as a "monopoly" and ice prices rose from 50 to 150 per cent in the first two weeks. Merchants complained and charged that "babies and old people would suffer." The "ice trust" was busted by the saloon keepers, who formed their own ice company; some in the new concern wanted to make ice artificially, but this was condemned by the competition as socialism. So the new company obtained natural ice from Massachusetts.

THE OLDEST NEWSPAPER in continuous circulation in the United States, *The Hartford Courant,* founded in 1764, moved into this building on State Street in 1880, and remained there for seventy years until it moved into its present building on Broad Street. Horse-drawn vehicles still shared the streets with horseless carriages when this photograph was taken, probably around 1910. (HC)

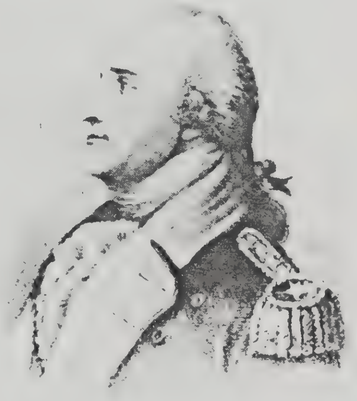


HARTFORD'S PRESENT CITY HALL was built by halves, as this photograph taken by Charles W. Cooke in 1912, shows. The project was cut into two stages because the city didn't appropriate enough money at the start of the project to begin the whole thing. Work began in 1912 with a $300,000 appropriation, and another $1 million was later appropriated to finish the rear half. The building was dedicated on November 4, 1915. (HC)

IN THE SUMMER OF 1914, Hartford's Riverside Park provided shade and playgrounds for the children of immigrants living on the nearby old East Side. (HC)



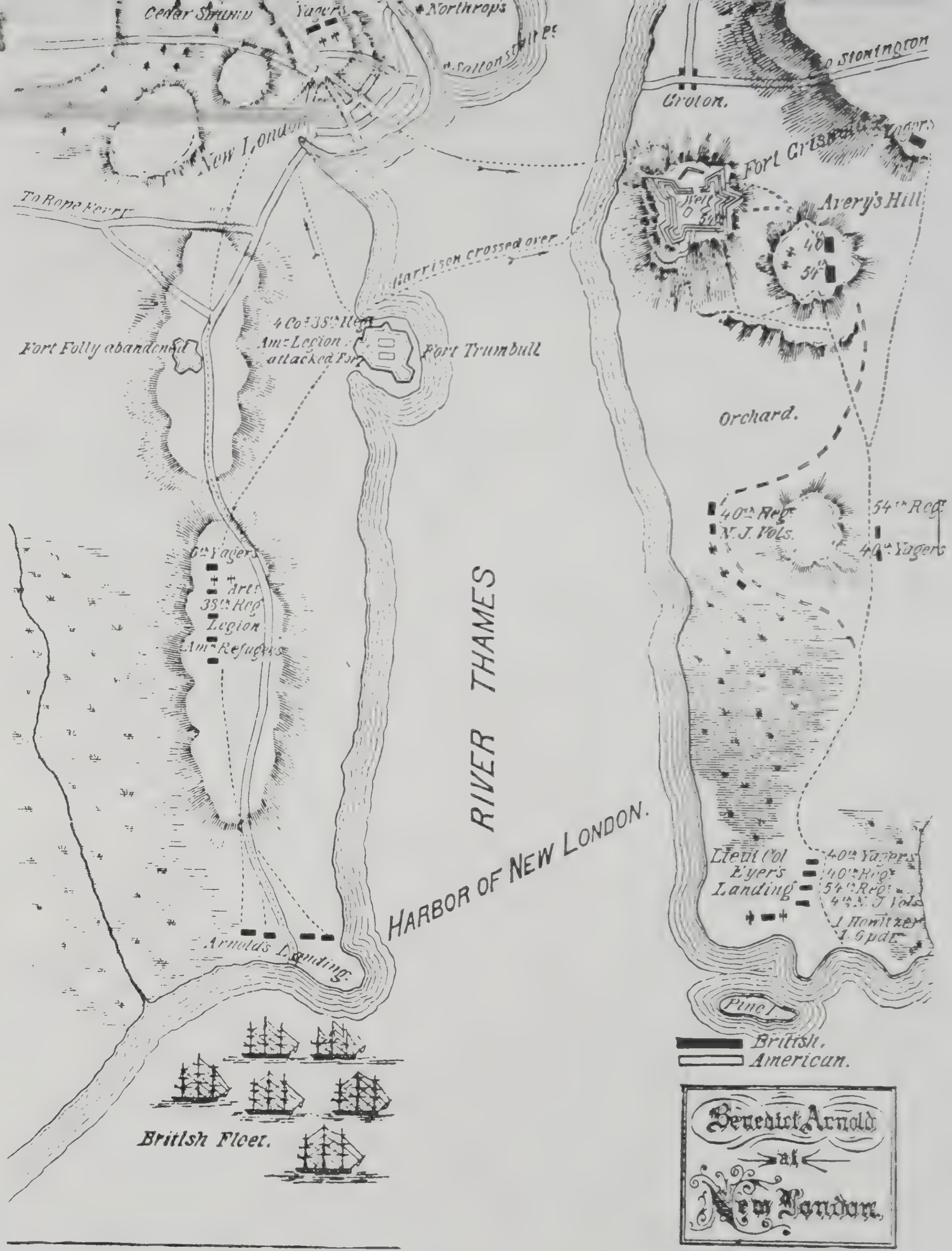
ISRAEL PUTNAM distinguished himself as commander of the American troops at the Battle of Bunker Hill, but later in the Revolution his military skills seemed to decline. General Washington removed Putnam from battlefield command after he was outflanked in the Battle of Long Island. He retired to his farm in 1779 after a paralytic stroke. This painting by Alonzo Chappel shows "Old Put" eluding pursuers. (HC)



THE NAME OF BENEDICT ARNOLD is today synonymous with betrayal of one's country, but early in the Revolution, Arnold was one of the ablest officers in the Continental Army and a flamboyant, courageous hero. (HC)

an attack at Danbury in April 1777, and in the battles of Saratoga in September of that year. In the first Battle of Saratoga, at Freeman's Farm, Arnold galloped into the center of the fray, was cheered by the troops, and answered with braggadocio: "Now come on, boys. If the day is long enough, we'll have them all in Hell before the night."

But as the war kept on, both Putnam and Arnold fell from grace, though Putnam's fall had nothing to do with disloyalty, but with old age. It was simply that "Old Put"—made a major general and field commander by Washington—had allowed himself to be flanked by the British in the Battle of Long Island in the spring of 1776.


Cedar Swamp
Yagers
Northrops
Saltonstall's
To Stonington
Groton.
New London
Fort Griswold
Avery's Hill
40th
54th
To Rope Ferry
Garrison crossed over
4 Co's 38th Reg
Am. Legion attacked Fort
Fort Folly abandoned
Fort Trumbull
Orchard.
40th Reg
N. J. Vols.
54th Reg
40th Yagers
Yagers
Art.
38th Reg
Legion
Am. Refugees
RIVER THAMES
HARBOR OF NEW LONDON.
Lieut Col Eyer's Landing
40th Yagers
40th Reg
54th Reg
4th N. J. Vols
1 Howitzer
1. 6 pdr.
Arnold's Landing.
Pine I.
British.
American.
British Fleet.
Benedict Arnold at New London.

Compiled and Drawn by Col. Carrington.

THE ONLY MAJOR BATTLE of the Revolution to occur on Connecticut soil was a British attack on New London and Groton led by Benedict Arnold on September 6, 1781. This map depicts Arnold's landing on the New London Bank of the Thames River, and that of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyer on the Groton side. Arnold's men easily overcame resistance at Fort Trumbull and set fire to New London, burning homes, wharves, and warehouses containing loot of American privateers which operated out of the port. Fort Griswold was harder to take, but finally the British overran the fort after the death of thier commander. Col. William Ledyard, who commanded Fort Griswold, was put to death by his own sword.

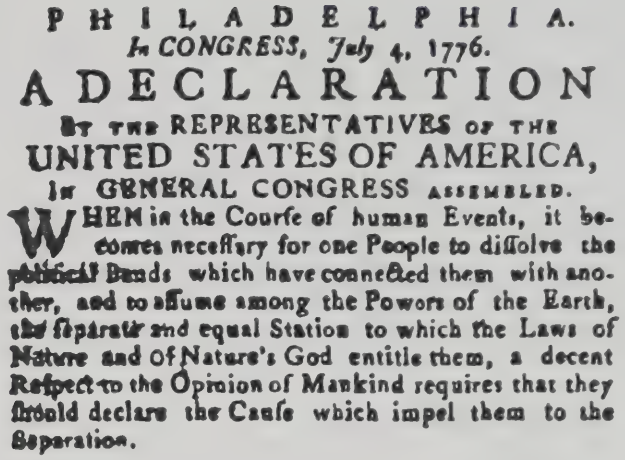
THE ACADIAN HOUSE in Guilford, seen here as it looked in 1931, was used to house destitute Acadian peasants set ashore in Guilford from a British ship in the autumn of 1755, after the destruction of Grand Pre, Nova Scotia. The house was built in 1670 by Joseph Clay.

When a postrider carried in news of the "shot heard round the world"on April 19, 1775, Connecticut quickly mobilized. Col. Israel Putnam was plowing his farm in Pomfret when the postrider arrived with the news of the Battle of Lexington. It is said he left his farm to warn local militia officers and to depart for Cambridge so hurriedly that he left his team yoked in the field. In all, nearly 3600 men followed Putnam to Boston. Among their leaders was Capt. Benedict Arnold, who led the Second Company, Governor's Foot Guard, into the fight despite a cold reaction from New Haven officials.

Arnold was also instrumental in planning the seizure of the rundown Fort Ticonderoga from the British, suggesting that its cannons could easily be captured, and then marching at the head of the troops that took the fort in early May, though Green Mountain Boy Ethan Allen was in charge, overruling Arnold's ambitions to lead himself. Early in the war, Colonel Putnam and Captain Arnold became Connecticut's two leading military leaders. It was Putnam who gave the order, "Don't fire until you see the white of their eyes," as first in command at Bunker Hill. And Arnold displayed a dashing heroism during

NATHAN HALE taught in this New London schoolhouse from March 1774 until July 1755, when he enlisted. The schoolhouse, now restored, was built in 1774.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE appeared as a news story in the *Connecticut Courant* (on page 2, in custom with putting in reports as they were received) in July of 1776.



PHILADELPHIA.

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

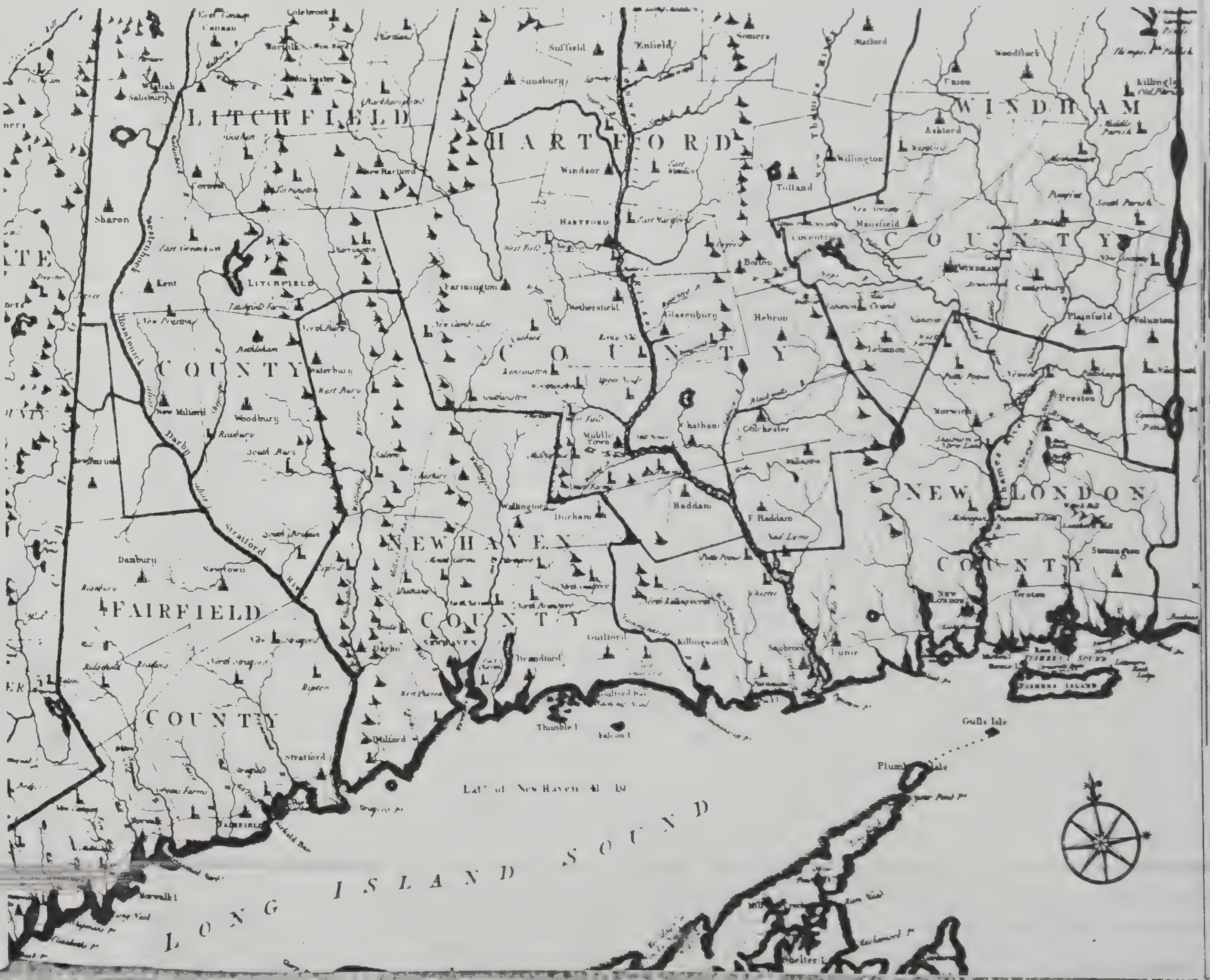
BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Courſe of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeparate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinion of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the Cauſe which impel them to the Separation.

CONNECTICUT had a great number of its present towns in 1777 during the Revolution, when this map was made.


LITCHFIELD
COUNTY
HARTFORD
COUNTY
WINDHAM
COUNTY
NEW HAVEN
COUNTY
FAIRFIELD
COUNTY
NEW LONDON
COUNTY
LONG ISLAND SOUND
Sharon
Kent
Litchfield
Salisbury
Danbury
Newtown
Woodbury
Farmington
Windsor
Hartford
Suffield
Enfield
Somers
Simsbury
Tolland
Willington
Mansfield
Coventry
Hebron
Lebanon
Colchester
Haddam
Durham
Wallingford
Middletown
Killingworth
Saybrook
Guilford
Milford
Stratford
Norwich
Preston
Plainfield
Canterbury
Pomfret
Woodstock
Groton
Thimble I.
Gulls Isle
Plumb Isle
Lat. of New Haven 41 19

citizens aboard. It reappeared only as a legendary "phantom ship" in the skies over New Haven.

None of the three original settlements in Connecticut possessed a charter that would stand up to much legal scrutiny. New Haven and Hartford, or Connecticut, had merely bought land from the Indians; Saybrook had a deed of conveyance from Warwick, but there was no evidence that the original patent had been executed. When Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, the Colony recognized quickly that a crisis was at hand. John Winthrop, Jr., who had been elected governor in 1657 and reelected in 1659, went overseas to straighten out matters, and, in fact, somehow managed to obtain a royal charter which placed the king's approval on the system of government already in existence. The charter set forth boundaries–from Massachusetts to the Sound and from Narragansett Bay to the Pacific–which had the effect of annexing New Haven into the more liberal and democratic Connecticut Colony whether it wanted to join or not.

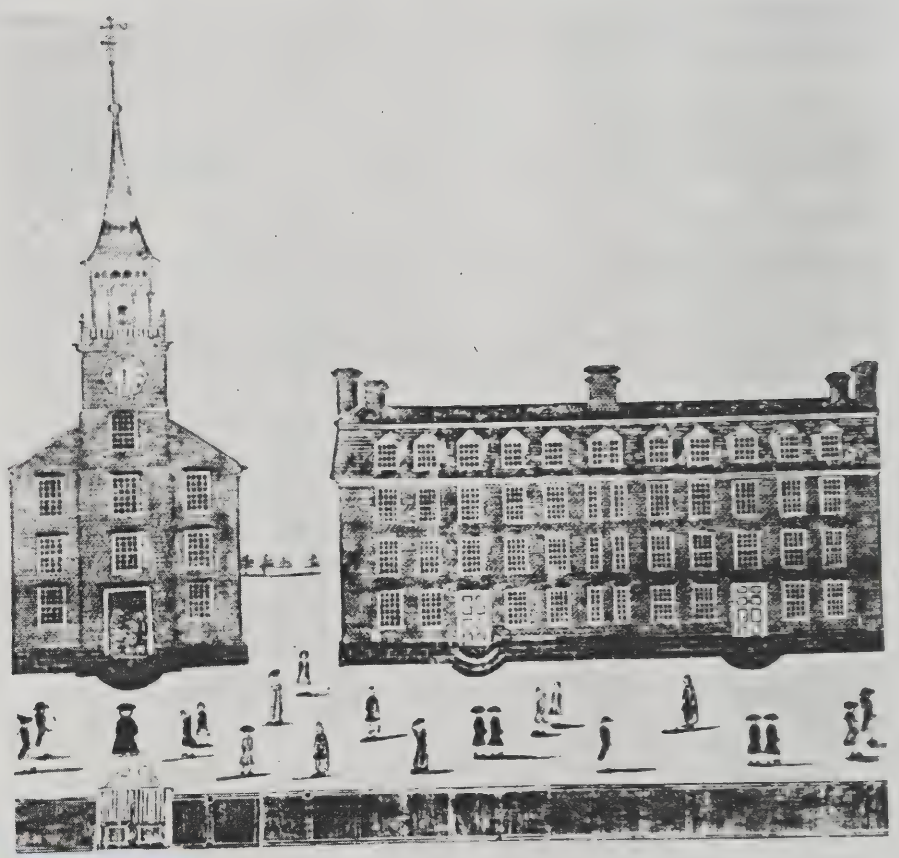
But before New Haven finally succumbed and threw in with the Colony in preference to being annexed by the Duke of York's Anglican Colony, the celebrated incident of the "judges cave" caused considerable excitement. William Goffe and Edward Whalley, who had both signed the death warrant of Charles I, had fled to Boston and from there to Davenport's house in New Haven. While the agents pursuing them were delayed at every turn, Goffe and Whalley fled to a mill outside of town, and then were hidden in a cave on West Rock where the "regicides" stayed for nearly a month.

During the remainder of the 1600s, the sovereignty of Connecticut was twice threatened by Maj. Edmund Andros, an English soldier and aristocrat then serving as governor of New York. A year after his appointment in 1674, Andros demanded that all land west of the Connecticut River be surrendered to him under a new royal patent. The 1662 charter was cited, but on July 8, Andros brought several armed sloops before Saybrook, only to sail off four days later after a show of force by the colonists there.

Then, in 1687, came the famous Charter Oak incident. Andros had come to Hartford from Boston with a retinue of 75 men. On a morning in late October, he and his party met with Gov. Robert Treat at the meeting house. At the meeting, Andros ordered the King's orders of annexation read, and may even have demanded the surrender of the charter. Governor Treat responded with a long recital of the trials of the young colony. As the autumnal darkness dimmed the room, candles were lighted.

"The important affair was debated and kept in suspense," says an early history, "until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table where the assembly was sitting. By this time great numbers of people were assembled. . . . The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter and secreted it in a large hollow tree. The candles were officiously relighted; but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away." The Andros government took over anyway, but only for two years.

During the century between the granting of the charter and the Revolution, Connecticut engaged in border disputes with its neighbors, burned witches, and participated in the colonial wars. In 1690, Fitz-John Winthop led an unsuccessful expedition against Montreal, and twenty years later, about 300 Connecticut militiamen were among those who captured Port Royal during Queen Anne's War. The colony also contributed fighting men to the force that took Louisburg in 1745, and during the French and Indian War, it wavered between cooperation and obstruction.

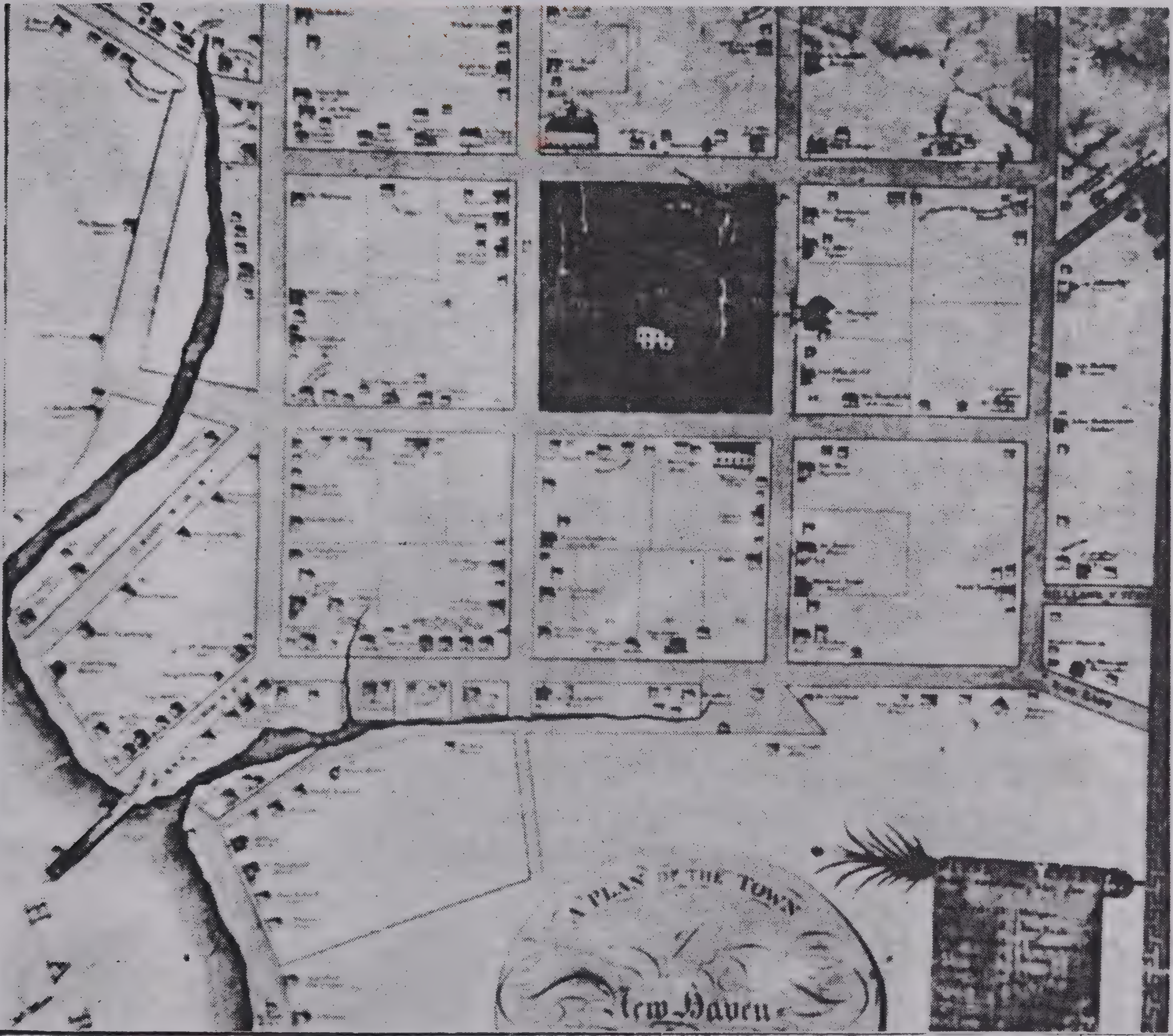


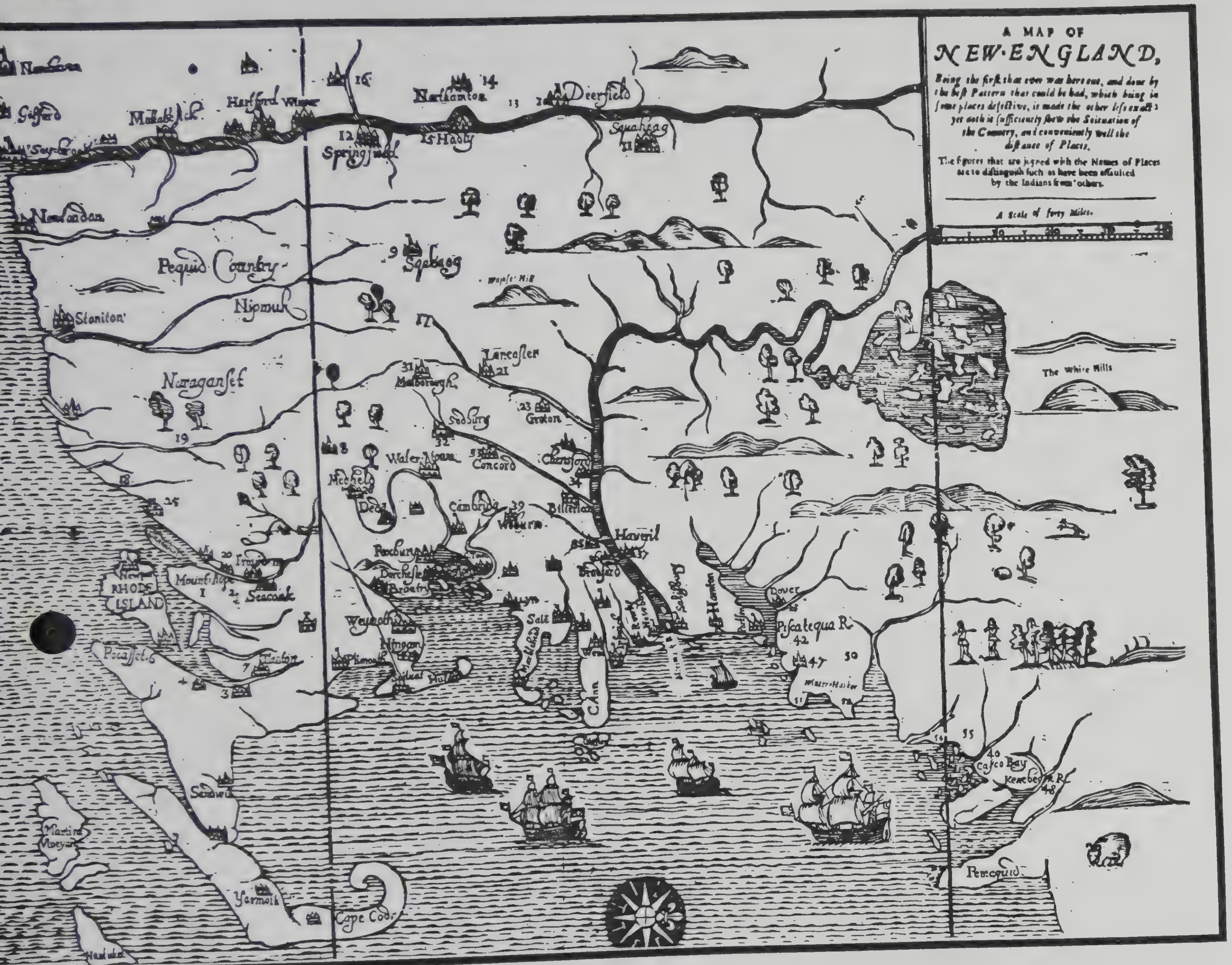
YALE COLLEGE looked like this after completion of its first two buildings, the College, built in 1750, and the Chapel, built in 1761. This is the earliest view of Yale, printed by Daniel Bowen from a woodcut in 1785. The students near Pres. Ezra Stiles, in front of the Chapel, have removed their hats, a time-honored custom at Yale. (HC)

The early eighteenth century saw the creation of Connecticut's most famous institution of higher learning, and the beginning of a rapid population growth which made the colony one of the most densely populated at the start of the Revolution, with nearly 200,000 souls. The Collegiate School, later to be called Yale University, received its charter to provide "the training up of youthful citizens for publik employment in Church & State" from the General Assembly in 1701. The school held its first classes in Saybrook. More than sixty graduates passed through the school's courses during the time it was in Saybrook, but in 1716, the trustees voted to move to New Haven after that city outbid all others in providing funds and land. Its first building there was on a half acre at the edge

In 1643, New Haven was extended to include Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, but the new colony had its problems. A shipping venture died in its maiden voyage, when the "Great Shippe" or "Wonder-Working Providence" went down at sea with several leading

THE LAYOUT OF NEW HAVEN in the mid-1700s is shown in this map. In the center of the "nine squares" is the New Haven Green which remains to the present pretty much as it looked in the early 1800s. At the time this map was drawn, the Second Meeting House, built in 1668, stood in the middle of the green, and the first Yale College House faces the green in the upper righthand corner. (NHR)




A MAP OF
NEW·ENGLAND,
Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Country, and conveniently well the distance of Places.
The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by the Indians from others.
A Scale of forty Miles.
Hartford
Springfield
Northampton
Deerfield
Hadly
Squakeag
Pequid Country
Stoniton
Nipmuk
Naraganset
Lancaster
Sudbury
Groton
Concord
Chelmsford
Marlborough
Medfield
Cambridge
Woburn
Billerica
Havril
Roxbury
Dorchester
Weymouth
Hingham
RHODE ISLAND
Mount Hope
Seaconk
Salem
Dover
Piscataqua R.
Casco Bay
Kenebeck R.
Pemequid
The White Hills
Cape Cod
Yarmouth
Martins Vineyard
Nantucket

CONNECTICUT is the upper left-hand corner, with Newhaven, Gilford, Say-brook, New London, and Stoniton along the coastline and Mattabesick, Hartford, and Winsor inland in this 1677 map of New England, in which north is right.

"Doctrine II: The privilege of election which belongs unto the people must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will of God."

"Doctrine III: That they who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them."

As early as 1636, a general court had been held; the Fundamental Orders—providing for a "publick state or commonwealth"—made this court the supreme authority, with deputies from the towns working in concert. Until the Constitution of 1818 replaced the Fundamental Orders and the Charter of 1662, the legislative body continued to dominate the judicial branches.

John Winthrop, Jr., son of the governor of Massachusetts Bay; his aides were Col. George Fenwick and Capt. Lion Gardiner, whose son David was the first white child born in Connecticut, on April 29, 1636. At first the settlement did not thrive except as a fort and trading post, and in 1644, Fenwick sold his rights to the Connecticut Colony in Hartford.

That was six years after the state's third settlement, which was to become a major city in the state and to share the capitol with Hartford. Quinnipiac, later New Haven, was settled in 1638 under the Rev. John Davenport, a Puritan minister from London, and Theophilas Eaton, a prominent merchant of his congregation. The land was bought from a local sachem named Montowese, for 23 coats, 12 spoons, 24 knives, 12 hatchets, scissors, and some hoes and porringers. New Haven had no patents until it, too, was absorbed into the Connecticut Colony in 1665. New Haven's government, run by "seven pillars" headed by Eaton, the elected magistrate, stipulated that "church members only shall be free burgesses, and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves to have the power of transacting all the publique civill affaires of this Plantation. . . ." Strict old-testamentarian blue laws were in effect, and these included the death penalty for a child over sixteen who struck or cursed a parent, a ban on smoking except in a room of a public house, and punishment by branding, whipping, or banishment for Quakers.

In 1643, New Haven was extended to include Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, but the new colony had its problems. A shipping venture died in its maiden voyage, when the "Great Shippe" or "Wonder-Working Providence" went down at sea with several leading

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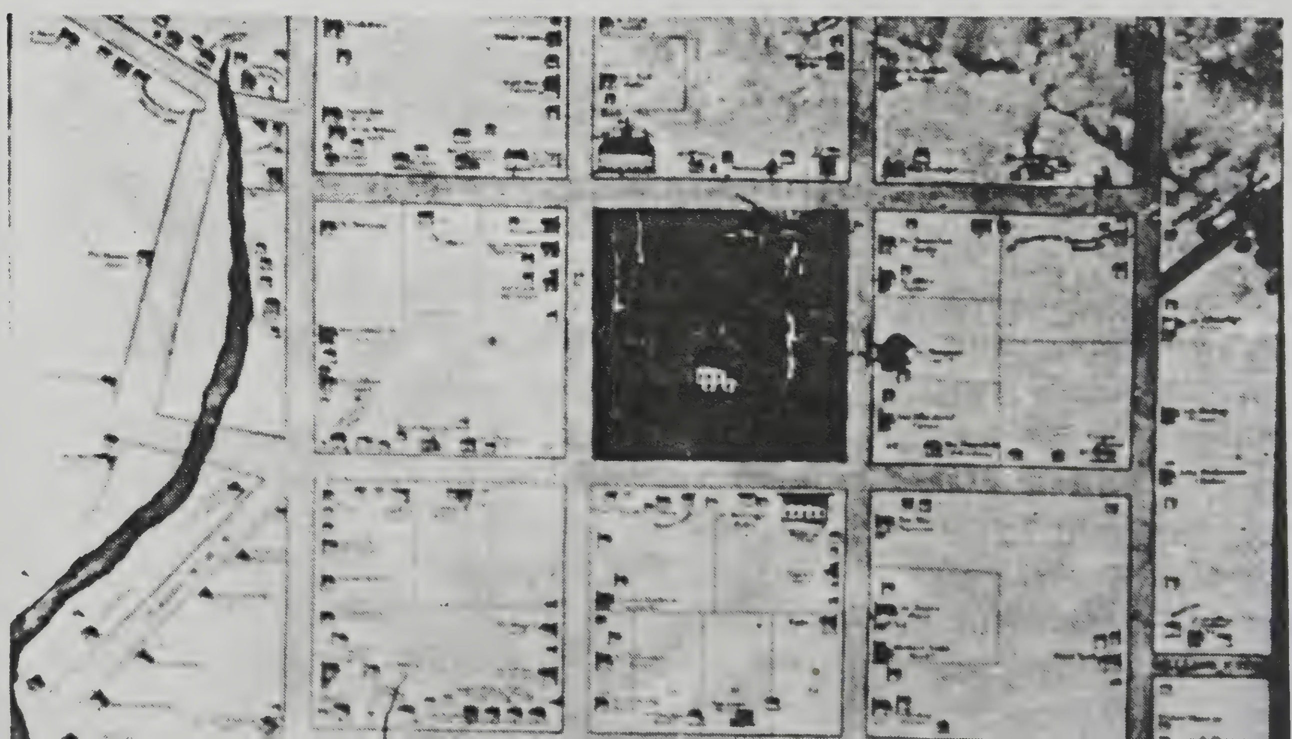
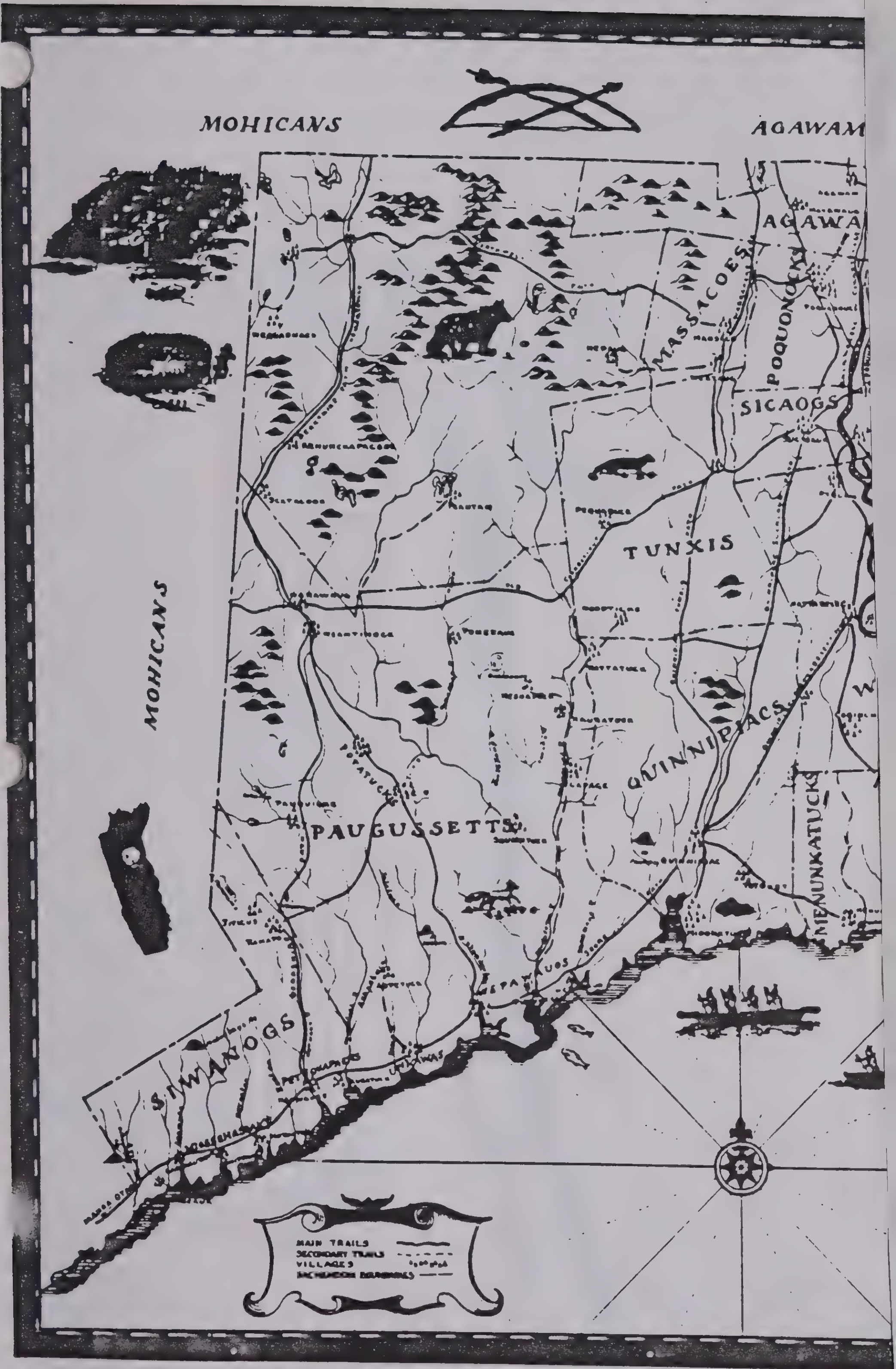
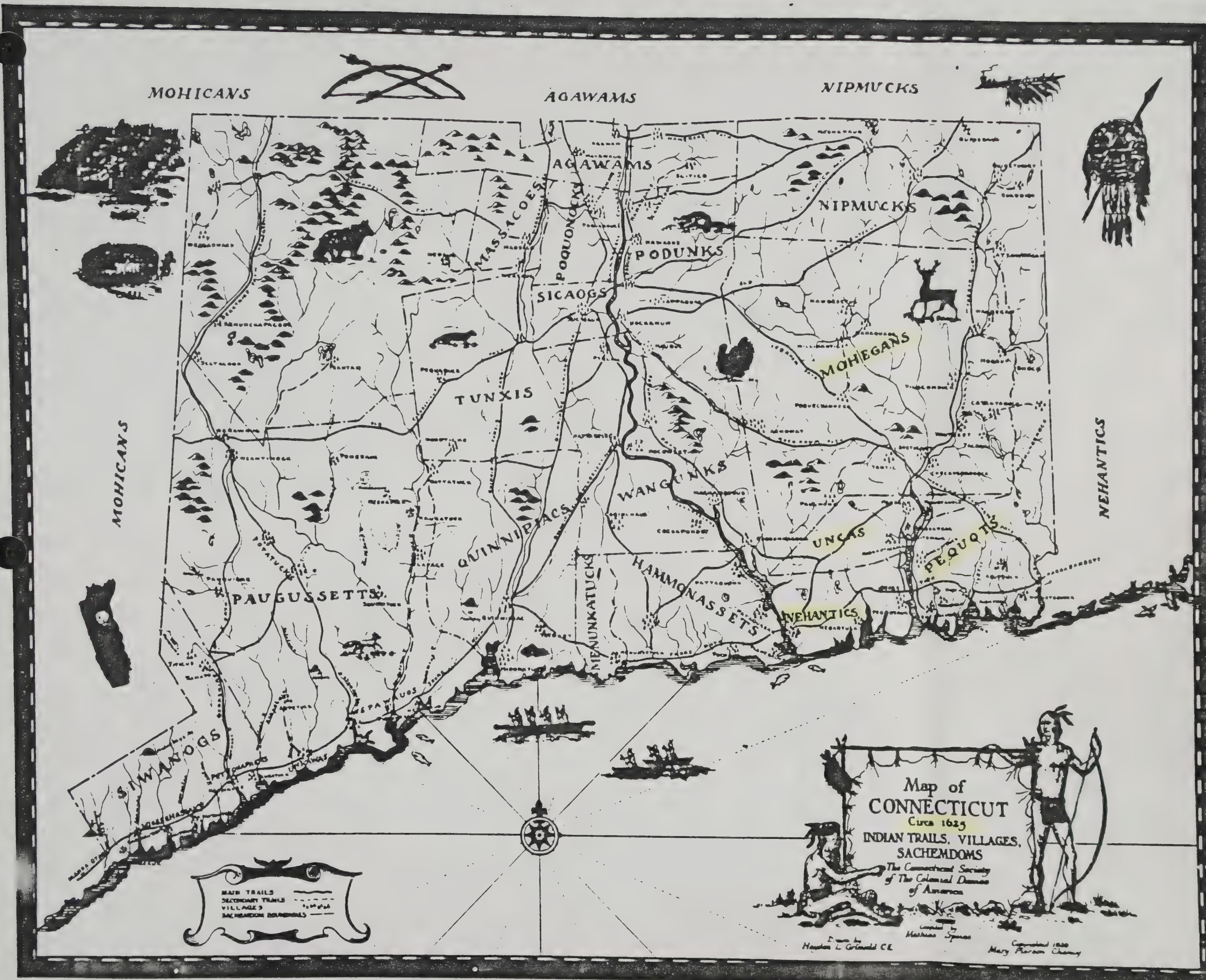
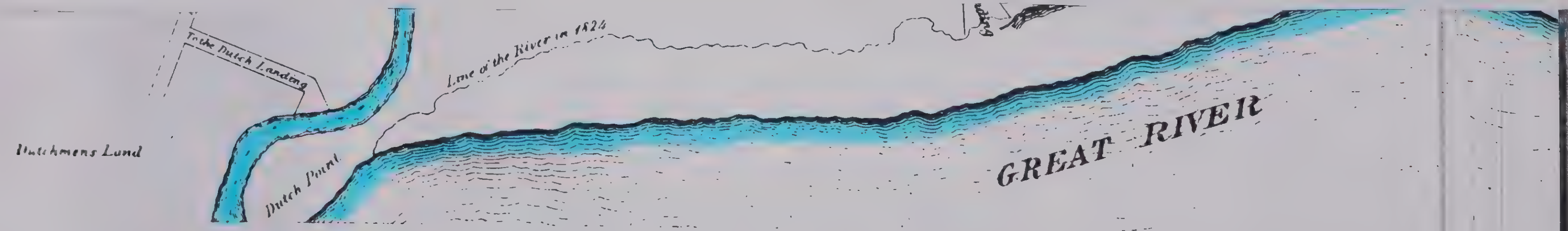



MOHICANS
AGAWAM
AGAWA
MASSACOES
POQUONOCKS
SICAOGS
MOHICANS
TUNXIS
QUINNIPIACS
PAUGUSSETTS
MENUNKATUCKS
SIWANOGS
W
MAIN TRAILS
SECONDARY TRAILS
VILLAGES
SACHEMDOM BOUNDARIES

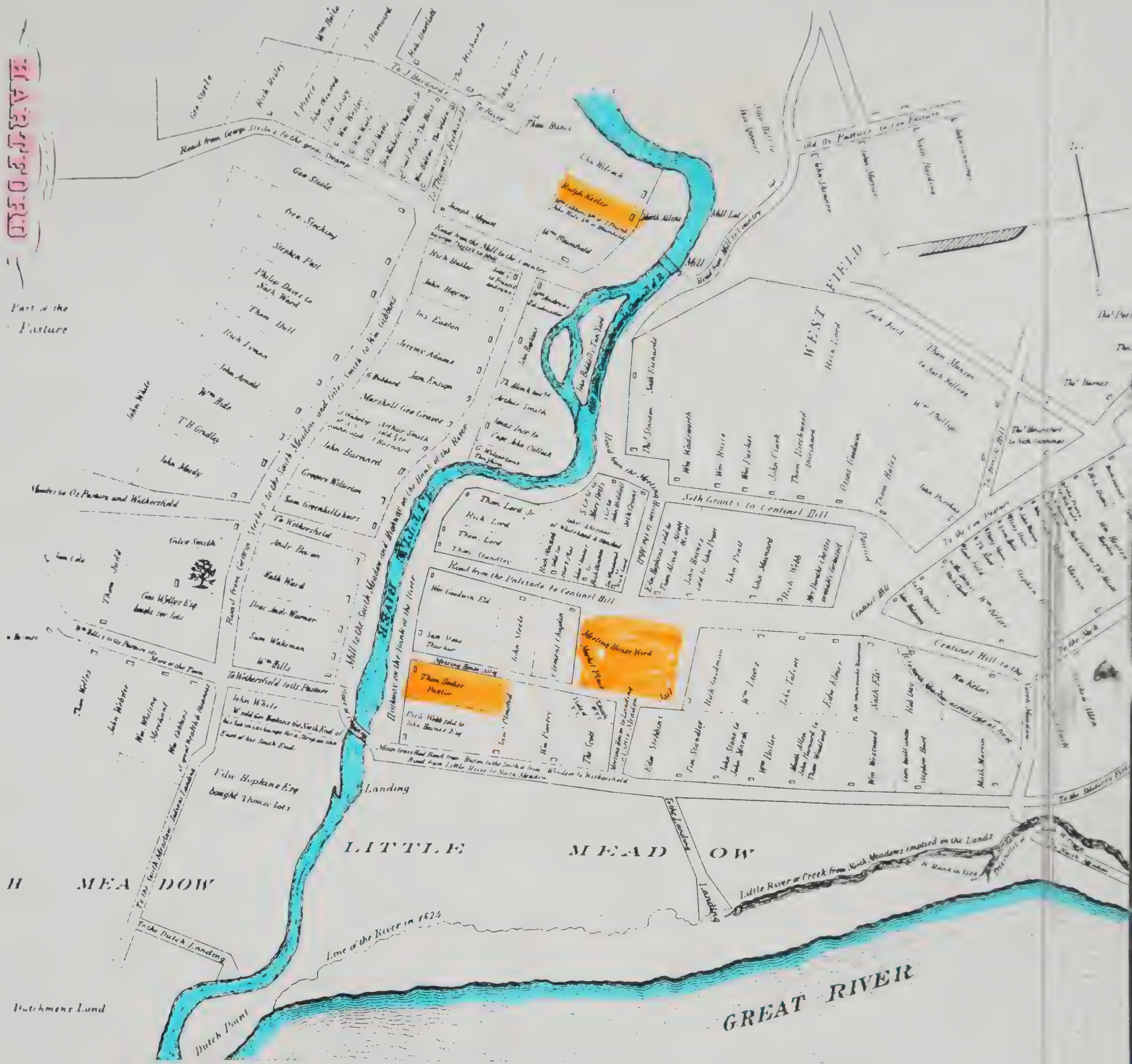
THIS MAP shows how Connecticut's Indians divide
landed. The map was compiled in 1930 for the Con


MOHICANS
AGAWAMS
NIPMUCKS
AGAWAMS
MASSACOES
POQUONOCKS
NIPMUCKS
PODUNKS
SICAOGS
MOHEGANS
TUNXIS
MOHICANS
NEHANTICS
WANGUNKS
QUINNIPIACS
UNCAS
PEQUOTS
HAMMONASSETS
MENUNKATUCKS
PAUGUSSETTS
NEHANTICS
SIWANOGS
MAIN TRAILS
SECONDARY TRAILS
VILLAGES
SACHEMDOM BOUNDARIES
Map of
CONNECTICUT
Circa 1625
INDIAN TRAILS, VILLAGES,
SACHEMDOMS
The Connecticut Society
of The Colonial Dames
of America
Compiled by
Mathias Spiess
Drawn by
Hayden L. Griswold CE
Copyrighted 1930
Mary Pierson Cheney

THIS MAP shows how Connecticut's Indians divided up the state in 1625, five years after the Pilgrims landed. The map was compiled in 1930 for the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames.


Dutchmens Land
To the Dutch Landing
Dutch Point
Line of the River in 1824
GREAT RIVER

THIS COPY OF A 1640 map shows how Hartford was laid out less than ten years after its settlement by the English colonists. The road along the river–approximately where an interstate highway now runs–says: "Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow." The Little River later was called the Park River, or the Hog River, and is now mostly underground in the downtown area. In the lower right-hand corner of the map is Dutch Point, site of the original Dutch trading post in 1633, and "Dutchmens Land." The house of Thomas Hooker was to the right of the Little River, one lot west of the "Main travelled Road." (HC)


HARTFORD
Part of the Pasture
LITTLE MEADOW
H MEADOW
GREAT RIVER
WEST FIELD
Line of the River in 1824
Dutch Point
Dutchmens Land
To the Dutch Landing
Landing
Little River or Creek from North Meadows emptied on the Lands
Road from George Steele's to the great Swamp
Road from the Mill to the Centinel Hill
Road from the Palisado to Centinel Hill
Seth Grant's to Centinel Hill
Centinel Hill
Meeting House Yard
Thom Hooker Pastor
Ralph Keeler
Geo Willys Esq bought sev lots
Edw Hopkins Esq bought Thomas lots
Giles Smith
Mill
Main travelled Road from Boston to the South & from Windsor to Wethersfield Road from Little River to North Meadow
Geo Steele
Stephen Post
Thom Lord
Rich Lord
John Barnard
Sam Wakeman
Wm Goodwin Eld
John Steele
Thom Hales
Ozias Goodwin
Wm Wadsworth
John White

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The USGenWeb Project • Fairfield County CT

Norwalk

THE ANCIENT HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NORWALK, CONNECTICUT, PP 31-40

Compiled and published by Edwin Hall, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Norwalk, Connecticut. New York: Baker Scribner, published 1847. Faithfully transcribed, indexed and contributed to the Fairfield County, CT USGenWeb Project by Barbara Kaye, March 1999.

Note: Most of the information is from the town records, while some information is from the families mentioned. If you have any corrections/additions to this record, please contact Gen1775@aol.com Thank you, Barbara!

/ 31 / THE GENEALOGICAL REGISTRY OF NORWALK

Deodate Gaylord, born July 20, 1760.
Moses Gaylord, born May 4, 1762.

Abraham Scribner, son of Abraham and Sarah, was born June 28, 1745.
Sarah Scribner, born Oct. 15, 17456.
Rhoda Scribner, born Oct. 18, 1748.
Ann Scribner, born April 7, 1751.
Levi Scribner, born June 28, 1753.
Rachel Scribner, born Aug. 28, 1755.
Moses Scribner, born June 30, 1757.
Jonathan Scribner, born Sept. 5, 1759.
Ezra Scribner, born June 19, 1761.
Esther Scribner, born Aug. 3, 1763.
Silas Scribner, born Sept. 15, 1765.

Samuel Fitch married Elizabeth Platt, July 2, 1750.
Susanna Fitch, born Dec. 6, 1750.
Joseph Fitch, born Jan. 4, 1753.
Samuel Fitch, born April 21, 1761.
Elizabeth Fitch, born Jan. 14, 1763.
Anna Fitch and Sarah Fitch, born Nov. 23, 1766.
Zechariah Whitman Fitch, born Dec. 25, 1771.
Esther Fitch, born Sept. 29, 1773.

Elijah Fitch married Phebe Smith, Oct. 25, 1752.
Phebe Fitch, born Sept. 3, 1753.
Hannah Fitch, born Sept. 20, 1755.
Stephen Fitch, born Oct. 25, 1757.
Molly Fitch, born Nov. 14, 1759.
Elizabeth Fitch, born Mar. 25, 1762.
William Fitch, born Aug. 23, 1764.
Lydia Fitch, born July 23, 1766.
Buckingham Fitch, born Aug. 23, 17__.
Lydia Fitch, born May 2, 1771.
Elijah Fitch, born Sept. 3, 1773.

Matthew Scribner married Martha Smith, Nov. 10, 1742.
Nathaniel Scribner, born Dec. 23, 1743.
Matthew Scribner, born Feb. 7, 1746.
Martha Scribner, born Feb. 20, 1748.
Enoch Scribner, born Aug. 29, 1750.
Elijah Scribner, born June 25, 1753.
Jeremiah Scribner, born Dec. 15, 1755.
Kezia Scribner, born Jan. 20, 1758.
Abigail Scribner, born Nov. 9, 1760.
Elizabeth Scribner, born Dec. 10, 1763.

Micajah Nash married Mary Scribner, Oct. 9, 1744.
Jesse Nash, born July 21, 1745.
Daniel Nash, born Dec. 2, 1747.
Samuel Nash, born Feb. 5, 1750

/ **32** / THE GENEALOGICAL REGISTRY OF NORWALK

Nathan Jarvis married Ann Kellogg. Jan. 1757.
Ann Jarvis, born Oct. 5, 1758.
Betty Jarvis, born Sept. 10, 1761.
Mary Jarvis, born June 11, 1765.
Samuel Jarvis, born Sept. 16 1768.
William Jarvis, born June 12 1771.
Nathan Jarvis, born June 19, 1773.
Esther Jarvis, born Aug. 27, 1775.
Hannah Jarvis, born Feb. 25, 1780.

Nathan Gregory married Sarah St. John, July 3, 1754.
Ebenezer Gregory, born Jan. 10, 1755.
Anna Gregory, born Mar. 14, 1758.
Noah Gregory, born Feb. 20, 1760.
Sally Gregory, born Mar. 9, 1763.
Polly Gregory, born Nov. 28, 1772.

Samuel Carter lived in Deerfield, Mass. When Deerfield was taken and burnt, February 29, 1704, he was absent from the town. His whole family was captured. Joseph had died before. Thomas was slain by the Indians on the meadows. The mother, and Mary, and Hannah, were slain on the journey. The four eldest arrived in Canada. The three eldest married there. Ebenezer was stolen away by merchants trading between Albany and Montreal, and restored to his father. The rest died in Canada. Ebenezer Carter married Hannah St. John, daughter of Matthias St. John, of Norwalk. In 1731, he removed to the Parish of Canaan, now New Canaan. His father lived on the place now owned and occupied by Jonathan Camp, Jr. His wife died February 1774, aged 74, and he died in the following summer, aged 77. Their children were:.

Samuel Carter was born in London, and when about 12 years old, was enticed away by the captain of a vessel coming to this country, and brought to Boston. In 1690 he married Mercy Brook, who died in 1700. Their children were:.
Samuel Carter, born 1692.
Mercy Carter, born 1694.
Ebenezer Carter, born 1697.
Thomas Carter, born 1699.
Mary Carter, born 1700.
Samuel Carter married Hannah Weller in 1701.
By his second wife, his children were.
Joseph Carter, born 1702.
Hannah Carter, born 1703.
Samuel Carter settled in Norwalk in 1705.

Mary Carter, daughter of Ebenezer Carter, married Jonathan Husted, Dec. 3, 1744. She had no children.
Hannah Carter, daughter of Ebenezer Carter, married Jonathan Burrall, April 7, 1746.
Her children were.
Theophilus Burrall, born 1784; died 1772.
Samuel Burrall, born 1786; died 1821,
Charles Burrall,
Jonathan Burrall,
Susannah Burrall,
Elizabeth Burrall, married Levi Hanford,
Her children were Ebenezer Hanford, Levi Hanford, Elizabeth Hanford, and John Hanford.

John, born February 22, 1730, married Hannah Benedict, daughter of Thomas Benedict in Oct. 1753. She was the mother of all his children, and died in 1780. The children were.
Hannah Carter, born July 9, 1754; married John Benedict.
Rachel Carter, born Nov. 19, 1756; married Nathan Kellogg.
Deborah Carter, born Dec. 29, 1757; married Gabriel North.
Sarah Carter, born Jan. 1760.

/ **33** / THE GENEALOGICAL REGISTRY OF NORWALK

Mercy Carter, born Oct. 5, 1761.
Elizabeth Carter, born Oct. 5, 1763; married Robert North.
Ebenezer Carter, born Aug. 3, 1765; married Susannah Benedict,
Sept 24, 1788; and Rhoda Weed, April 1, 1795.
Samuel Carter, born Apr. 22, 1768; married Sarah Hanford.
died Dec. 1831.

Mary Carter, born Nov. 20, 1771
- married Stephen Hoyt May 20, 1794.

Thomas Gregory married Mary Betts, May 18, 1747.
Naomi Gregory, born April 13, 1748.
Josiah Gregory, born May 12, 1750.
Mary Gregory, born Oct. 8, 1752.
Jehiel Gregory, born Nov. 17, 1754.
Abigail Gregory, born Dec. 13, 1762.

John Sanders married Elizabeth Cane, Nov. 23, 1747.
Billy Sanders, born Feb. 16, 1749.
John Sanders, born Apr. 19, 1751.
Phebe Sanders, born Mar. 22, 1756.
Hannah Sanders, born Aug. 27, 17__.
Esther Sanders, born Apr. 18, 1761.
Holmes Sanders, born Aug. 23, 1763.
Susannah Sanders, born Jan. 29, 1766.
Sarah Sanders, born Apr. 18, 1768.

? **John Lockwood married Mary Keeler,** April 27, 1746.
Mary Lockwood, born, Dec. 18, 1748.
Lydia Lockwood, born May 22, 1751.
Sarah Lockwood, born Oct. 5, 175__.
Hannah Lockwood, born June 23, 1757.

✗ **Benjamin Whitney married Lois Kellogg,** Jan. 3, 1757.
Hannah Whitney, born June 4, 1757.
Martha Whitney, born Mar. 5, 1759.
Samuel Kellogg Whitney, born Feb. 2, 1761.
Henry Whitney, born May 26, 1763.
Anna Whitney, born July 29, 1765.
Polly Whitney, born May 1, 1769.
Benjamin Whitney, born Mar. 4, 1771.

✗ **Timothy Whitney married Annah Wood,** Feb. 25, 1770,
Lewis Whitney, born Mar. 19, 1771. d. Feb. 11, 1772.
Suky Whitney, born Mar. 17, 1773.
Esther Whitney, born June 25, 1775.
Timothy Whitney, born Nov. 8, 1777.
Sally Whitney, born Sept. 12, 1782.
Annah Whitney, wife to Timothy Whitney, died Aug. 7, 1785.
Timothy Whitney married Abigail Wood, Apr. 23, 1786.
Lewis Whitney, born Aug. 29, 1787.
Nancy Whitney, born Dec. 21, 1788.
Elizabeth Whitney, born Jan. 4. 1796.

Ebenezer Phillips married Mary Benedict, Jan. 17, 1782.
Esther Phillips, born Mar. 5, 1787. d. Feb. 12, 1788.
Esther Phillips, born Apr. 17, 1788.
Sally Phillips, born Dec. 11, 1790.
Elizabeth Phillips, born July 9, 1798.

PHILLIPS FAMILY RECORD
Rev. George Phillips was born in Raymond, in Norfolk, England, and arrived in this country, in company with Gov. Winthrop, July 2, 1630. Settled in Watertown, Mass., and died July 1, 1644. His son, Samuel Phillips, born in Boxford, England, died in Rowley, Mass., April 22, 1696, aged 71. His children were Sarah Phillips, Samuel Phillips, George Phillips *, Elizabeth Phillips, Dorcas Phillips, Mary Phillips, and John Phillips.

* Rev. George Philips, son of Samuel Phillips, was born in 1664. Settled in Brook Haven, L. I., in 1697, died in 1739, aged 75. His children were, George Phillips, who lived and died in Smithtown, L. I.; John Phillips, who dived and died in Boston; and William Phillips, who lived in Smithtown, L. I., and died January 1st, 1778. Sybil Phillips, his wife, died October 31, 1767, aged 74. Their children were,
John Phillips, born Sept. 3, 1737 and died in Milford, Ct., March 12, 1780.
William Phillips, born May 27, 1741 and died in Brook Haven, L. I., March 27, 1799.
Zebulon Phillips, born April 14, 1746 and died in Peekskill, N. Y., January 13, 1815.
James Phillips, born March 13, 1751 and died in Coventry, N. Y., January 25, 1841.
Ebenezer Phillips, born July 15, 1753 and died in Norwalk, Ct., August 5, 1829.
Sarah Phillips, born October 24, 1756 and died in North Salem, N. Y., February 12, 1827.
Philetus Phillips, born November 24, 1759 and died in Greenville, N. Y., May 17, 1818.
Elizabeth Phillips, born November 9, 1762. died in Brook Haven, L. I., on February 4, 1844.

Asahel Raymond married Mary Veal, Apr. 22, 1784.
Medad Raymond, born Mar. 12, 1786.

Polly Raymond, born Oct. 30, 1788.
Charles Raymond, born Jan. 26, 1791.
Philetus Raymond, born Aug. 22, 1792.
Hiram Raymond, born Apr. 2, 1794.
Almena Raymond, born Apr. 29, 1797.

Melzer Carver married Phebe Wicks, Jan. 29, 1777.
Amos Carver, born Dec. 11, 1778.
Charles Carver, born July 19, 1781.
Hannah Carver, born Dec. 11, 1783.
Nancy Carver, born Sept. 17, 1785.
Joseph Carver, born July 24, 1786.
Ebenezer Carver, born July 22, 1787.
Stephen Carver, born Sept. 28, 1791.
William Carver, born Oct. 22, 1793.
George Carver, born Dec. 23, 1795.
John Carver, born Aug. 28, 1797.

Paul Raymond married Elizabeth Reed, Jan, 11, 1776.
Elizabeth Raymond, born April 18, 1777.
Elias Raymond, born June 16, 1779.
John Raymond, born June 15, 1781.
Abigail Raymond, born May 31, 1783.
Nancy Raymond, born Oct. 9, 1787.
John Taylor Raymond, born Dec. 7, 1791.
Mary Raymond, born April 17, 1794.

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Joseph Lockwood married Isabel Hyatt, Oct. 31, 1774.
Joseph Lockwood, born Oct. 2, 1778 .
William Lockwood, born July 23, 1780.
Fanny Lockwood, born June 29, 1784.

John Peck married Esther Raymond, Aug. 6, 1797.

David Bolt, Jr. married Sarah Taylor, March 17, 1790.
Sarah Bolt, born Nov. 11, 1790.
Frederick Anson Bolt, born Aug. 18, 1793.
Rhua Bolt, born Aug. 22, 1797.

Samuel Keeler married widow Ann Thatcher, March 3, 1785.
Joseph Keeler, born Oct. 18, 1786.
Charles Keeler, born Apr. 6, 1789.
Samuel Keeler, born Mar. 17, 1792.

Margaret N. Belknap, daughter of Abel and Hannah Belknap, born May 16, 1791.
Edwin Starr Belknap, born Dec. 11, 1794.
Julia Ann Belknap, born Aug. 27, 1799.

Asa Hayt married Ruth Kellogg, Oct. 26, 1766.
Henry Hayt, born May 1, 1767.
Esther Hayt, born Nov. 9, 1769.
Asa Hayt, born Feb. 28, 1772.
Francis Hayt, born July 19, 1774.
Ruth Hayt, born Feb. 21, 1777.
James Hayt, born Dec. 5, 1779.
Lewis Hayt, born June 24, 1782.
Anna Hayt, born Oct. 26, 1784.
Eli Hayt, born April 30, 1787.

Caleb Comstock married Lucy Mead, Nov. 10, 1786.
Moses Comstock, born Nov. 3, 1787.
Matthew Comstock, born May 21, 1789.
Molly Comstock, born May 29, 1791.
Caleb Comstock, born Jan. 5, 1793.
Joshua Comstock, born Sept. 6, 1795.
Abigail Comstock, born Oct. 30 1797.
Betty Comstock, born Sept. 13 1799.
Xenophon Comstock, born Sept. 28, 1801.
Anna Comstock, born Jan. 5, 1804.
Eli Comstock, born Nov. 27, 1805.

Thomas Hayt, Jr. married Elizabeth Phillips, Jan. 5, 1793.

Matthew Reed, died December 4, 1797.

Charles Robert Sherman, son of Tayler Sherman and Elizabeth Sherman, born Sept. 26, 1788.
Daniel Sherman, born Mar. 28, 1790.
Betsey Sherman, born Dec. 7, 1791.

Roger Minot Sherman* married Betsey Gould, Dec. 19, 1796.
William Gould Sherman and James Minot Sherman, twins, born Oct. 18 1799.
*The late Judge Sherman, of Fairfield, began his professional career in Norwalk.

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Samuel Burrall married Deborah Benedict, Jan. 1, 1782.
Samuel Burrall, born Sept. 11, 1783. died June 26, 1793.
John Burrall, born Dec. 7, 1785.
Charles Burrall, born Oct. 1, 1791.

William Benedict married Nancy Fitch, Feb. 20, 1782.
Anna Benedict, born July 31, 1783. m. N. Lockwood.
Charlotte Benedict, born Sept. 29, 1795. m. Jer. Camp.
Charles Benedict, born Sept. 29, 1785.
Suky Benedict, born Jan. 30, 1788. m. James I. Hoyt.
Sally Benedict, born Nov. 17, 1790. m. Daniel Smith.
Esther Benedict, born May 10, 1793. m. :Edw. Smith.
Mary Benedict, born Apr. 4, 1796. m. George Brown.
Fanny Roe Benedict, born Dec. 30, 1798. m. S. W. Benedict.
Deborah Benedict, born Dec. 30, 1798. m. George Scribner.

Nathaniel Raymond married Rebeckah Benedict, Feb. 17, 1762.
Sarah Raymond, born Mar. 10, 1763.
Susannah Raymond, born May 13, 1765.
Anah Raymond, born Nov. 8, 1767.
Hannah Raymond, born June 6, 1770.
Rebeckah Raymond, born Aug. 11, 1773.
Nehemiah Raymond, born Jan. 5, 1776.
Nathaniel Raymond, born March 9, 1778.
The said Rebeckah Raymond, wife to said Nathaniel Raymond, died Feb. 19, 1781.
The said Nathaniel Raymond married Widow Seymore, Aug. 17, 1781.

Aaron Gregory married Betty Keeler, June 25, 1772.
Esther Gregory, born July 4, 1773.
Ebenezer Gregory, born Mar. 7, 1775.
The said Betty Gregory, wife to said Aaron Gregory, died 1778.

The said Aaron Gregory married Bridget Belden, Feb. 15, 1780.
Betty Gregory, born Apr. 21, 1784.

Isaac Scudder Isaacs married Susannah St. John, June 6, 1777.
Benjamin Isaacs, born July 17, 1778.
William Isaacs, born Nov. 5, 1788.
Charles Isaacs, born June 7, 1795.
John Isaacs, born Sept. 21, 1799.

Children of Peter and Mercy James
Alethea James, born Feb. 15, 1765.
Peter James, born Jan. 12, 1767.
Sarah James, born Dec. 7, 1768.
Jemmey James, born Mar. 23, 1771.
Daniel James, born Sept 10, 1773.
William James, born Feb. 17, 1777.
Edward James, born Mar. 9, 1779.

Children of Theophilus Fitch, son of John Fitch.
Comfort Fitch, born Jan. 30, 1737.
Ruth Fitch, born April 1, 1739.
John Fitch, born Aug. 24, 1740.
Sarah Fitch, born Sept 10, 1742.

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Mary Fitch, born July 11, 1744.
Samuel Fitch, born Jan. 26, 1746-7.

Sarah Fitch, born Jan. 9, 1748-9.
Theophilus Fitch, born Sept. 1, 1751.
Ann Fitch, born July 29, 1756.
Joseph Fitch, born Oct. 21, 1758.

Theophilus Fitch married Anna Gregory, Feb. 7, 1781.
Samuel Fitch, born Dec. 17, 1781.
Betsey Fitch, born July 2, 1784.
Nathan Fitch, born April 14, 1787.

Job Hayt married Anah Raymond, Aug. 4, 1785.
Samuel Hayt, born Mar. 23, 1786.
Nathan Hayt, born Mar. 2, 1788.
Lucretia Hayt, born April 24, 1790.
George Anson Hayt, born Oct. 19, 1793.
Esther Hayt, born Aug. 21, 1796.
Nelson Hayt, born Jan. 6, 1797.

Joseph Waring, Jr. married Anna Bates, Oct 17, 1776.
Samuel Bates Waring, born April 28, 1777.
Betty Waring, born July 3, 1778.
Jane Waring, born Sept. 2, 1779.

Avery Brown married Betty Waring, Sept. 6, 1795.
Avery Brown, born Feb. 2, 1797.

John Stuart married Sarah Hurlburt, Dec. 1, 1779.
Lois Stuart, born Sept. 13, 1780 .
Gilbert Stuart, born Aug. 19, 1783.
William Stuart and Henry Stuart, born July 24, 1785.
William Stuart, 2d., born May 23, 1789.
Sarah Stuart, born Feb. 28, 1791.

Edmond Tuttle married Salome Phillips, Nov. 18, 1788.
Edmond Tuttle, born April 12, 1789.
Polly Tuttle, born April 12, 1791 .
Arete Tuttle, born Oct. 19, 1793.
Lewis Tuttle, born July 31, 1796.

Holmes Sanders married __________ Dec. 25, 1788.
Charles Sanders, born Nov. 29, 1789.
William Sanders, born July 24, 1791.
George Ogilvie Sanders, born July 26, 1793.
Sally Sanders, born June 8, 179-.
Harvey Sanders, born Jan. 9, 1798.

Gershom Richards married Elizabeth Richards, March 14, 1773.
Elizabeth Richards, born Aug. 21, 1773.
Hannah Richards, born Sept. 14, 1774.
Samuel Fitch Richards, born Oct. 1, 1777.
Rufus Richards, born April 25, 1781.
Polly Richards, born July 9, 1788.

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Barnabas Mervine married Hannah Richards, April 27, 1797.
*George Mervine, born Feb. 23, 1798.
Charles R. Mervine, born Sept. 30 1811.
Mary Mervine, born Nov. 19 1816.
* Graduated at New Haven, 1817.

Matthew Marvin was born October 1703, and died December 6, 1745. From him descended, by Elizabeth Clark, of Ripton, (now Huntington,) Fairfield, Co.
Hannah Marvin, born Sept. 3, 1732 & died Dec. 1806.
Matthew Marvin, born Oct. 21, 1734 & died Oct. 1791.
Ozias Marvin, born Jan. 29, 1737 & died April 1806.
Barnabas Marvin, born Dec. 25, 1739, died 1810.
Silas Marvin, born Feb. 4, 1742.
Uriah Marvin, born Feb. 17, 1744, died about 1830.
Ichabod Marvin, born Dec. 15, 1745, died Feb. 1792.

Ozias Merwine married Sarah Lockwood, Nov. 26, 1761.
Ozias Merwine, born Feb. 10, 1763.
Hannah Merwine, born Oct. 7, 1764.

Elizabeth Merwine, born Nov. 24, 1766.
Sarah Merwine, born June 21, 1768.
Esther Merwine, born June 12, 1770.
Joseph L. Merwine, born Dec. 11, 1774.
Clark Merwine, born Oct. 13, 1776.
Asa Merwine, born Oct. 13, 1778.
Polly Merwine, born June 9, 1781.
Silas Merwine, born March 1, 1784.
Charles Merwine, born Feb. 21, 1786.

Darius Olmsted married Esther Gregory, Sept. 10, 1775.
Aaron Olmsted, born Mar. 3, 1776.
David Olmsted, born Feb. 2, 1779.
Silas Olmsted, born Dec. 5, 1780.
Mary Olmsted, born Jan. 12, 1783.
Esther Olmsted, born June 19, 1785.
Charles Olmsted, born Nov. 6, 1791.

Theodore Husted married Abigail Seymore, Jan. 24, 1782.
Polly Husted, born Jan. 15, 1783.
Thomas Seymore Husted, born Mar. 6, 1784.
Nancy Husted, born Jan. 12, 1786.
Thomas Seymore Husted, 2d., born Feb. 6, 1788.
Thaddeus Husted, born Jan. 29, 1790.
Samuel Husted, born April 26, 1798.
Morris Husted, born Feb. 13, 1795.
Morris Husted, 2d., born June 2, 1797.

Joseph Hurlbutt married Sally Lewis, Aug. 9, 1772.
Lewis Hurlbutt, born Oct. 24, 1773.
Sally Hurlbutt, born Aug. 26, 1775.
Foster Hurlbutt, born Oct. 12, 1777.
Anna Hurlbutt, born Feb. 17, 1780.
Orasha Hurlbutt, born May 13, 1782.
Anna Hurlbutt, 2d., born July 23, 1784.
Clara Hurlbutt and Joel Hurlbutt, twins, born Feb. 7, 1787.

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Lette Hurlbutt, born May 3, 1789.
Walter Hurlbutt, born May 17, 1791.
Polly Hurlbutt, born May 1, 1793.
Sukey Hurlbutt, born Mar. 24, 1795.
Dudley Hurlbutt, born May 16, 1797.

Thomas Fitch Thatcher married Susannah Lockwood, March 28, 1790.

Ephraim Curtis married Abigail Cromwell, Oct. 27, 1796.
John Bailey Curtis, born Oct. 13, 1797.

Daniel Hanford married Susannah Platt, Jan. 9, 1773.
Edward Hanford, born March 3, 1774.
Andrew Hanford, born Aug. 18, 1775, d. Oct. 16, 1776.
Joseph Platt Hanford, born Aug. 23, 1777, d. Sept 18, 1778 .
Andrew Hanford, born Dec. 9, 1779.
Joseph Platt Hanford, born April 17, 1782.
Debby Hanford, born April 19, 1784.

William Bouton married Sarah Benedict, Feb. 15, 1769.
Isaac Bouton, born Sept. 19, 1769. d. July 24, 1779.
Isaac Bouton, 2d., born Nov. 20, 1771.
William Bouton, born Mar 14, 1774.
Betty Bouton, born Aug. 12, 1776.
Esther Bouton, born May 20, 1779.
Sarah Bouton, born June 7, 1781.
Clara Bouton, born July 6, 1783.
Seth Bouton, born Sept. 8, 1785.
Joseph Bouton, born Oct. 22, 1787.
Susanna Bouton, born Dec. 12, 1789.
John Bouton, born Feb. 18, 1792.
Mary Bouton, born Nov. 28, 1793.
Anna Bouton, born June 21, 1796.
*Nathaniel Bouton, born June 22, 1799.

* Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, of Concord, N. H., graduated at Yale, 1821.

Abijah Betts married Mary Betts, Jan. 3, 1771.
Lydia Betts, born Dec. 17, 1771.
Mary Betts, born Sept. 10, 1776.
Sarah Betts, born May 28, 1781.

John Grumman married Sarah Nash, Jan. 15, 1767.
John Grumman, born Oct. 22, 1772.
Sarah Grumman, born Feb. 19, 1777.

Lewis Mallory (born Oct. 1, 1768) married Anna Seymour (born Jan. 12, 1772), Feb. 20, 1793.
Charles Mallory, born Dec. 2, 1793–died.
Alfred Mallory, born Nov. 8, 1796.
James Mallory, born July 10, 1799.
Charles Mallory, born Nov. 2, 1801.
Mary Esther Mallory, born June 26, 1804, married to A. E. Beard.
Harriet Mallory, born Oct. 6, 1810, married to Rev. George H. Hulin.
died April 1, 1836.

Nathaniel Fitch married Anna Smith, Nov. 11, 1790.
Polly Fitch, born Dec. 27, 1792.
Anna Fitch, born Jan. 15, 1795.
Nathaniel Fitch, born June 1, 1797.

Daniel Richards married Abigail Waring, Dec. 31, 1761.
Daniel Richards, born Oct. 7, 1762.
Stephen Richards, born Jan. 29, 1765.
Paul Richards, born Mar. 26, 1767.
William Richards, born Dec. 10, 1769.
Anna Richards, born July 10, 1772.
Sarah Richards, born Mar. 21, 1774.
Anna Richards, born Aug. 20, 1776.
William Richards, born June 2G, 1779.
Abigail Richards, born Mar. 6, 1782.

Abijah St. John married Hannah Hendrick, Oct. 2, 1793.
Polly St. John, born Dec. 11, 1794.
Hiram St. John, born Mar. 25, 1797.

Peter St. John, Jr. married Rachel Jones, July 8, 1793.
Chauncey St. John, born April 12, 1794.
Smith St. John, born Oct. 8, 1795.
Cyrus St. John, born Sept. 30, 1799.

Cook St. John married Polly Seymour, Dec. 22, 1796.
Thaddeus St. John, born Nov. 25, 1797.
Betty St. John, born Mar. 31, 1800.
William St. John, born June 4, 1802.

Betsey Mills, daughter of Joseph and Amelia Mills, born Nov. 3, 1794.

Stephen St. John, the 4th, (born Oct. 9, 1792) married Sarah Betts, (born Dec. 22, 1777) Jan. 4, 1797.
Caroline St. John, born June 8, 1800.
Edward Betts St. John, born Dec. 4, 1801.
Alanson Platt St. John, born Aug. 20, 1803.
Jesup Raymond St. John, born Sept. 7, 1805.
Sally Ann St. John, born Oct. 31, 1807.
Moses Betts St. John, born Dec. 19, 1809.
Charles Grandison St. John, born Dec. 2, 1811.
Harriet Henrietta St. John, born Sept. 28, 1813.
Hiram St. John, born Dec. 22, 1814.
Catherine St. John, born July 1, 1816.
Harriet Emeline St. John, born Sept. 20, 1818.

Phinehas St. John married Esther Whitney, Oct. 27, 1773.
Esther St. John, born Nov. 2, 1774.
Betty St. John, born Dec. 23, 1776.
Phinehas St. John, born Nov. 30, 1778.
Nathan St. John, born May 5, 1781.
Esther St. John, born Sept. 21, 1783.

Job Lockwood married Sarah Hickox, June 12, 1791.
Abigail Lockwood, born Oct. 13, 1791.
Hannah Lockwood, born July 1, 1793 .

Polly Lockwood, born Sept. 28, 1795.

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Hugh Fowler

471-7170

512-733-2072

Austin

NM Fitch
@hotmail.com

1691
21
1670

FAIRFIELD COUNTY

The Congregational Church was formed in 1733 and the records beginning in 1734 are complete to 1780. They begin again in 1810. None exist of the intervening period.

Marriages by Rev. Nathaniel Hunn

GROOM	BRIDE	DATE OF MARRIAGE
George Cornes (Corns)	Anne Hall	Nov. 12, 1734
✓ John Mallery	Elizabeth Adams	April 10, 1735
James Bradley	Abigail Sanford	Dec, 4, 1735
Peter Burr	Rebecca Wood	May 7, 1736
Samuel Smith	Lidia Hull,	August 24, 1736
✓ Peter Mallery	Joanna Hall	Feb. 28, 1736-7
Daniel Burr	Abigail Sherwood	Dec. 22, 1737
Abraham Adams	Elizabeth Williams	May 9, 1740
Edmund Sherman	Rebecca Lee	July 2, 1740
Benjamin Tunrey (?)	Anne Lyon	Oct., 1740
Thomas Rowland	-- Mason**	Nov. 30, 1743
Matthew Fowler**	Deborah Gray	Dec. 28, 1743
✓ Ebenezer Mallery	Hannah Keys	Feb. 6, 1744
? Daniel Meeker	Sarah Johnson	July 19, 1744
Lemuel Wood	Griswold Mallery	Oct. 29, 1744
David Meeker	Hannah Hill	Oct. 31, 1744
? Benjamin Meeker	Catharine Burr	August 20, 1745
Heppin, Jr., Milford Ct.**	Mary Read	Sept. 4, 1745
Hezekiah Rowland	Tanear Treadwell	Dec. 24, 1745
William Trusdale	Deliverance Jeason**	June 29, 1746
✓ Robert Meeker	Rebecca Morehouse	Sept. 19, 1746
Seth Wheeler	Ruth Knap	Oct. 27, 1746
John Read	Tabitha Hawley	Dec. 18, 1746
✓ Nehemiah Sanford	Elizabeth Morehouse	March 5, 1747
Samuel Wood	Mary Mallery	March 5, 1747
Samuel Coley	Mary Gray	Sept. 17, 1747
✓ Nehemiah Smith	Rebecca Meeker	Oct. 8, 1747
Jonas Plat	Elizabeth Sanford	Oct. 17, 1747

Gurdon Marchant	Ellenor Chauncey	Dec. 9, 1747
Daniel Hall	Mary Betts	Nov. 11, 1748
Gershom Coley	Abigail Hull	Nov. 15, 1748
Daniel Mallery	Sarah Lee	Nov. 30, 1748
✓ Gershom Morehouse	Anne Sanford	Jan. 18, 1749
William Burret	Elizabeth Burr	June 7, 1749

Marriages by Rev. Nathaniel Barlett

GROOM	BRIDE	DATE OF MARRIAGES
Rev. N. Bartlett	Eunice Russel of Branford	June 13, 1753
William Read	Sarah Hawley	Dec. 21, 1753
Benj. Humbleton	Hannah Bulkley	April 5, 1754
Daniel Coley	Sarah Sanford	April 16, 1754
Nathaniel Hall	Abigale Platt	May 28, 1754
? Isaac Meeker bro. of Rebecca?	Eunice Coley	May 29, 1754
Thomas Gold	Anne Smith	Feb. 20, 1755
Daniel Dean	Mary Lee	June 29, 1755
Daniel Jackson	Abigale Sanford	Oct. 2, 1755
Jehu Burr, Jr.	Sarah Griffin,	Nov. 22, 1755
Samuel Cable	Mary Platt	Jan. 4, 1756
David Lion-Lyon	Hannah Sanford	Sept. 14, 1756
Paul Bartram	Mary Hawley	.
Ebenezer Hull Jr	Ruth Betts	.
John Bartram	Charity Bulkley	.
Joseph Dikeman	Eunice Darling	May 25, 1757
Eleazer Burrit	Elizabeth Platt	
William Murrow **	Eunice Dean,	Dec. 16, 1757
John Morgan	Joanna Banks	Jan. 5, 1758
Daniel Sanford	Esther Hull	April 18, 1758
Benjamin Davis	Eunice Nash	May 21, 1758
Stephen Gray	Sarah Ferry	Sept. 3, 1758
Michael Benedict	Bette Dikeman	Nov. 5, 1758
Hezekiah Booth	Abigale Betts	Dec. 13, 1758

Hezekiah Smith	Lydia Lee	Jan. 11, 1759
Theophilus Hull	Martha Betts	Jan. 25, 1759
✓ Samuel Chegston **	Deborah Mallery prob dau. of Wm.	Feb. 11, 1759
Elias Bates	Tabitha Read	Feb. 25, 1759
Seth Sanford	Rebecca Burr	April 25, 1759
John Gray	Ruamah Barlow	August 7, 1759
Jonathan Couch	Eunice Griffin	August 15, 1759
Alexander Briant	Elizabeth Burr	Oct. 11, 1759
James Gray	Asena Taylor,	March 27, 1760
✓ John Clugston	Eunice Mallery	July 7, 1760
Joseph Stilson	Rebecca Wildman	Oct. 29, 1760
Deacon Stephen Burr	Abigale Hall	April 12, 1761
Reuben Squire	Elizabeth Bryant	May 19, 1761
Joseph Lyon	Lois Sanford	May 21, 1761
Isaac Rumsey	Abigale St. John	May 25, 1761
Stephen Crofut	Adria Couch	August 27, 1761
Richard Nichols	Abigale Gold	Dec. 2, 1761
John Griffin	Katherine Johnson	Dec. 23, 1761
Anthony Anghevine	Esther Burr	Dec. 23, 1761
Timothy Sanford	Mary Sanford	Feb. 14, 1762
✓ David Bartram	Phoebe Morehouse	April 30, 1762
Azael Patchin	Hannah Osborn	May 10, 1762
Joseph Sanford	Hepzibah Griffith	Nov. 2, 1762
David Jackson	Anna Sanford	Nov. 18, 1762
Joseph Rumsey	Sarah Morehouse	Dec. 2, 1762
John Hawley	Abigail Sanford	Dec. 21, 1762
John Hull	Mollie Andrews	Feb. 3, 1763
George Gage	Sarah Adams	Sept. 7, 1763
Noah Hall	Sarah Banks	Nov. 13, 1763
John Byington	Sarah Gray	Nov. 16, 1763
Elnathan Lyon	Jain (Jane) Knap	Nov. 23, 1763
Elijah Birchard	Ruth Morehouse	Dec. 3, 1763
Samuel Olmstead	Sarah BartramB	Dec. 21, 1763
James Gray, Jr.	Mabel Phinney	Feb. 9, 1764
Jesse Banks	Mabel Wheeler	June 11, 1764

John June	Sarah Jenks	August 16, 1764
Hezekiah Batterson	Mary Sherwood	Sept. 24, 1764
Ephraim Deforest	Sarah Betts	Oct. 25, 1764
✓ John Clugston	Charity Ginnins	Nov. 20, 1764
Zecheriah Summers	Martha Burr	Jan. 15, 1765
Samuel Rowley	Sarah Comes	Jan. 15, 1765
✓ Eleazer Olmstead	Grace Pickett	Jan., 17, 1765
Hezekiah Whitlock	Anne Platt	July 11, 1765
Isaac Platt	Mary Pickett	Oct. 2, 1765
James Russica	Sarah Rumsey,	Feb. 19, 1766
William Hambleton	Martha Prince	June 3, 1766
Calvin Wheeler	Mary Thorps	June 3, 1766
Thomas Rockwell	Tabitha Sanford	June 26, 1766
Ephraim Jackson	Martha Hull	June 26, 1766
Joseph Griffin	Esther Hall	Sept. 18, 1766
Turrey David**	Sarah Gold	Nov. 7, 1766
Seth Banks	Sarah Platt	Nov. 20, 1766
Ezekiel Fairchild	Eunice Andrews	Jan. 8, 1767
Nehemiah Hull	Griswold Perry	Feb. 5, 1767
Hubbel Bennet	Rebecca Pickett	Feb. 17, 1767
Joseph Meeker	Mary Darling	March 12, 1767
Jacob Lyon	Hannah Wheeler	March 21, 1767
Elijah Burr	Rhoda Sanford	April 2, 1767
Elnathan Sturges	Ruth Hawley	April 22, 1767
Ezekiel Sanford	Sarah Sturges	April 23, 1767
James Prindle	Rhoda Mallery	June 27, 1767
Samuel Sanford, Jr	Sarah Olmstead	July 23, 1767
Burgis Hall	-- Whitehead**	- -, -
Abijah Fairchild	Huldah Burr	Nov. 5, 1767
Nathaniel Northrop	Esther Gold	Nov. 10, 1767
Stephen Sanford	Abigail Ward	Nov. 19, 1767
Joseph Banks	Ann Morehouse	Nov. 29, 1767
Levi Selay	Anner Meeker	Dec. 6, 1767
Stephen Meeker	Anne Lee	March 25, 1768
✓ Lieut. Peter Fairchild	Mary Lockwood	March 27, 1768

John Parker	Sarah Sherwood	August 22, 1768
✓ Hezekiah Bulkley	Sarah Rumsey	Sept. 20, 1768
✓ Abel Morehouse	Beth Squire	Nov. 8, 1768
Solomon Northrop	Sarah Knap	Nov. 9, 1768
✓ John Darling Guire	Rebecca Hill	Nov. 29, 1768
William Sloane	Mary Read	March 4, 1769
Andrew Knap	Rebecca Monrow**	April 7, 1769
Ephraim Robbins	Sarah Couch	June 20, 1769
Henry Hopkins	Anna Burr	July 26, 1769
Nathan Jackson	Elizabeth Osborn	August 17, 1769
Silas Lee	Witelee Meeker	August 23, 1769
Nehemiah Selay Jr.	Sarah Dibble	Sept. 26, 1769
Daniel Bartram	Ann Marchant	Oct. 10, 1769
Samuel White	Huldah Sanford	Oct. 28, 1769
James Morgan	-- Osborn**	Jan. 22, 1770
Nathaniel Turill	Abigail Rumsey	Jan. 23, 1770
Seth Meeker	Ellen Bixby	March 27, 1770
Joseph Lyon	Sarah Bulkley	Nov., 1770
Nathan Coley	Mabel Bixby	Nov. 15, 1770
✓ Ephraim Sanford	Tabitha Morehouse	Nov. 15, 1770
Ezekiel Hawley, Jr.	Huldah Lyon	Dec. 20, 1770
Daniel Fairchild	Sarah Lane	Dec. 25, 1770
Seth Price	Mary Gold	March 6, 1771
Justus Bates	Hannah Coley	May 23, 1771
Ebenezer Coley	Rachel Sturges	Nov. 12, 1771
Jonathan Bradley	Grace Johnson	Dec. 8, 1772
Aaron Barlow	Rebecca Sanford	Dec. 17, 1772
Lazarus Wheeler	Hannah Gorham	Jan. 24, 1773
William Bradley	Mary Wescott	Feb. 22, 1773
Elijah Burr	Eunice Hawley	April 27, 1773
Elnathan Sturges	Martha Jackson	April 28, 1773
Chauncey Marchant	Hannah Hambleton	May 19, 1773
Samuel Platt	Abigail Hall	Oct. 17, 1773
Henry Whinkler	Ruth Coley	Nov. 10, 1773
Ezekiel Sanford	Abigail Starr,	Nov. 21, 1773

Daniel Read	Anne Hill	Dec. 7, 1773
Stephen Andrus	Lois Osborn	Dec. 27, 1773
Joseph Truesdale	Comfort Burr	Jan. 11, 1774
David Jackson	Esther Ward	Jan. 23, 1774
John Fairchild	Sarah HullBB	Jan. 27, 1774
Levi Dikeman	Rebecca Lines	Feb. 9, 1774
Philip Burrit	Rachel Read	March 1, 1774
John Pickett, Jr	Mary Bates	March 20, 1774
Augustus Sanford	Abigail Sturges	August 18, 1774
Jonathan Persons	Elizabeth Thomas	August 22, 1774
Isaac Hambleton	Eunice Platt	August 28, 1774
Abijah Fairchild	Phoebe Smith	Sept. 18, 1774
Robert Stow	Anne Darrow	Jan. 26, 1775
Seth Meeker	Millicent Davis,	March 14, 1775
Daniel Selay	Lydia Comstock	March 28, 1775
Hezekiah Read	Anne Gorham	May 14, 1775
Eli Nichols	Hannah Hull	May 22, 1775
✓ Enoch Betts	Mary Coley	June 27, 1775
Thaddeus Benedict	Deborah Read	July 12, 1775
Isaac Gregory	Sarah St. John	Sept. 12, 1775
William Dunning	Sarah Osborn	Oct. 9, 1775
Daniel Copley	Theoda Couch	March 3, 1777
Jonathan Couch	Mabel Meeker	Sept. 24, 1777
Samuel Mallery	Hannah Nichols	Oct. 16, 1777
Samuel Ramong	Philena Bates	Nov. 3, 1777
Benjamin Darling	Mary Chapman	Nov. 6, 1777
✓ Jeremiah Batterson	Bette Clugston	Nov. 12, 1777
Abel Gold	Elizabeth Gold	Dec. 18, 1777
Jesse Benedict	Mollie Ward	Dec. 25, 1777
Daniel Collins Bartlett	Esther Read	Jan. 7, 1778
Daniel Osborn	Jane Morehouse	Jan. 28, 1778
Jabez Burr	Mary Bartram	Feb. 12, 1778
Francis Andrews	Sabra Parsons	March 5, 1778
✓ Bille Morehouse	Ruth Guire	March 11, 1778
Thomas Ressue **	Phoebe Pickett	March 23, 1778

Samuel Gold	Sarah Platt	April 9, 1778
Enos Lee, Jr	Ruth Bates	April 22, 1778
Austin Baxter	Martha Darling	May 29, 1778
James Gibbons, soldier in Putnam's division	Ann Sullivan	Feb. 7, 1779
John Lines (soldier)	Mary Hendrick	March 18, 1779
Charles White	Amerillis Knap	March 23, 1779
Daniel Evarts (soldier)	Mary Rowland	March 30, 1779
Isaac Olmstead (soldier)	Mary Persons	April 15, 1779
Jesse Belnap (soldier)	Eunice Hall,	April 28, 1779
William Little (soldier)	Phoebe Marchant	May 7, 1779
Giles Gilbert (Officer in army)	Deborah Hall	May 23, 1779
Joseph Jackson, Jr	Mary Dimond**	Sept. 30, 1779
Russell Chapel (soldier)	Sarah Osborn	Oct. 3, 1779
William Darrow (soldier)	Ruth Bartram	March 9, 1780
John Dikeman	Sarah Meeker	March 20, 1780

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A LETTER FROM A REPENTANT ROYALIST

London, April 13, 1784

By Miss Ellen D. Larned

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October, November and December 1895

Not a blind partisan, not a self-seeking office-holder, but a fair-minded, intelligent citizen of Connecticut, constrained by principle to remain loyal to king and government was the author of this epistle, -- Joshua Chandler, of New Haven. The mass of Tories, during the American Revolution was made up mainly of office-holders, monied men who feared the loss of property, and Episcopalians who honored the King as head both of Church and State. But there was also a class of moderate conservatives, who apart from personal considerations clung to the king, and believed rebellion unjustifiable.

The Chandler family at this date embraced all classes. Capt. John Chandler of Woodstock, (then in Massachusetts), was the most prominent citizen of Worcester county at the time of its organization, and his children and grandchildren held the highest offices in the gift of the government. As a matter of course, they were Loyalists of the most intense stamp, so bitter in opposition to the Patriot cause that out of six citizens of Worcester, sentenced to eternal banishment, enforced by the penalty of death if found a second time within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, five were of this family connection.

On the other hand, Charles Church Chandler, whose father had remained in Woodstock, was a leading patriont, member of the Committee of Correspondence, and but for his early death might have filled the highest offices in the State of Connecticut. Another cousin, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, became at Yale college a convert to Episcopacy, entered upon holy orders, served acceptably as missionary and pastor, received a degree from Oxford and was offered the Bishopric of Nova Scotia. He and his family were devoted adherents of king and church, and by their position and wide influence, were able to give much aid and comfort to distressed Royalists.

Joshua, son of a fourth Chandler brother, after his graduation from Yale college, in 1747, remained in New Haven, engaging in the practice of law, and in extensive business operations, and acquired a large property. That he gained the respect and confidence of the community was manifested by public charges entrusted to him, and very notably by being placed first on the Committee of Correspondence in 1777. But, it would soon manifest that his sympathies were with the mother country. He could but think "his countrymen were in the wrong." His sons became, indeed, violent partisans of the Royal cause, even piloting British troops in their invasion of New Haven, so that their father was obliged to join the British in hot retreat from the town, leaving property valued at £30,000 to be confiscated by the State government. His prosperous career ended in "days of darkness." Repairing to

England, after the close of the war, hoping to gain some equivalent for his loses in the Royal cause, he met but bitter disappointment. The subjoined letter [Genealogy of the Chandler Family] shows the innermost heart of one whose loyalty to the crown had wrecked his life and fortune. He felt that "the lost cause " had not been worth the sacrifice:

"To the Rev. Dr. Chauncey, New Haven, Conn.
Reverend & Dr Friend;

On my taking my Final and Everlasting Farewell of my Native Country, I addressed you and my Good old and Dr Friend, Mr. Whitney. I hope you Received that address as a Token of my Love and Friendship; as I flatter myself that you have a Friendship for me, and would be glad to know my Present Situation and Future Prospects in Life, I have taken the Liberty of once more Giving you the Trouble (I hope) the pleasing Trouble of this.

I left New York on the 9th of October Last, with a Design of Calling at New Haven, and for the Last Time, to have bid adieu to that Delightful Spot, and to all my friends; but the Winds, but more the Feelings of my own Mind and the Visible feelings of the Family forbid it. We had a most Terrible Passage to Nova Scotia, our Decks were swept of all our Stock, &c. &c. We arrived at Anapolis on the 23d. Mrs. Chandler was overcome with the Passage. She languished, mourned and Died in about 3 weeks after Landing. She is certainly Happy. She Died in the Death of the Righteous, and it is the first wish of my Soul, that her Family and her Friends might be as happy and composed as she was in the moment of her Death. Soon after the Death of Mrs. Chandler, I removed my Family about ten miles above Anapolis Royal. I provided as well as I could for them. I staid with them a few days. I then left them to the Gracious Protection of the Almighty, who I hope will be their God and their Comfort and Support. I left Halifax on the 9th of January, and Arrived, after a mixed Passage, in this Great Sink of Pollution, Corruption and Venality, on the 8th of February. I found the Nation in Great Tumults and Commotions. I found myself Perfectly Lost in Politicks, as well as in Compass; East was West and North is yet South.

Before I left America, I supposed Lord North to be Rather attached to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and Lord Sidney and Mr. Pitt Rather Jealous for the Liberty of the People. But how Greatly was I mistaken. I found Lord North Decidedly against the Crown, in favor of the Democratical Part of the Constitution to the Ruin of Monarchial; and Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidney, &c. &c. &c all in Favor of the Prerogative; these Political Squabbles you will see more Perfectly Depictured in the Newspapers, as also the Dissolution of Parliament, and the Calling of a new one; the Elections in many places have taken place, and the New Ministry will have a Great Majority in the New Chosen House; but their continuance cannot be long, the present Ministry are occupying ground that they are Strangers to; they stand upon Tory Ground, and are at Heart Republicans in Principle, if there is such a thing as Principle in the Kingdom, the existence of which I greatly doubt. This Kingdom, without a miracle in its favor must soon be Lost; you can have no idea of their Corruption, of their Debauchery and Luxury; their Pride; their Riches; their Luxury has Ruined them; it is not in the Power of Human Nature to Save them, If they are saved, it

must be by some Heavenly Power. I like not the Country, either their manners or even their Soil -- the Soil is Nothing to America, you cannot see a single Tree but what wants a Flesh Brush -- it is True that Agriculture and all the Arts are carried to great Perfection; but give America the means, and in one Half the Time she will Rise Superior to anything in this Country.

My own prospects in Life are all Dashed, my only care is now for my Children; the Idea of a Compensation is but very faint. It is probable I may Have about £400 stg. per annum. My only effort now is to procure that Sum to be Settled on my two Daughters and my youngest Son for Life; my Son William Stands some Chance for a Separate Support for his Life. I find my Health on a Visible Decline; when I can Get my Little affairs Settled here, I shall go into Yorkshire or into Wales, to procure an Asylum for my Daughters and my two youngest Sons.

Thus this unhappy Controversy has Ruined Thousands; the Sacrificing the Prospects of my Family for life is not the only thing that fills my mind with distress. I yet have a very strong Affection to, and a Predilection for my Native Country; their Happiness would in some measure alleviate my Present Distress; both though I have found myself Greatly lost in Politicks, I cannot yet suppose my Country can be happy in their present state. A Democratical Government cannot long subsist in so great and extended a Country; the seeds of Discord I see Sown among you, former prejudices and future jealousies will cause Convulsions; the subversion of your present constitution cannot take place without bloodshed. I have sent in a small package to my Son, M. De Solme's (advocate in Geneva, Switzerland) History of the British Constitution; it is well wrote; I wish Dr. Stiles would admit it into the Library -- it may be of some service to my Country in forming their new constitution, for a new one must be formed at some future time. In the hour of the Contest I thought, and even yet think my Country wrong; but I never wished its ruin. I wish her to support a dignified character -- that can be done only by great and dignified actions, one of which is a sacred and punctual adherence to public faith and Virtue. Men of your character may preach forever upon moral Virtue; but, if the people see and find that there is no public Virtue, your preaching will be like the Sounding Brass and tinkling Cymbal. I wrote to my Son a few days since; I wish you to enforce my regards to him, and also to remind him of sending the papers and documents I sent for. Tho' I am about to leave this city, and address to me, No. 40 Norton Street, near Portland Chapel, will always find me, while I can find myself. Pray remember me with the most sincere affections to your family, and to all my friends. They must excuse my not writing to each one, neither my health or my feelings will permit; but let us all bear up under all our losses and separation with a becoming fortitude. My own time, and the time of my dear friend, is Short, very Short, in this world. My first and last prayers will be to meet where no Political disputes can Ever Separate from near and dear friends.

Your humble &c. &c.

Joshua Chandler."

Mr. Chandler's sad fore-bodings were too quickly realized. After his return to Annapolis he set out with his son, daughter, and a fellow-sufferer, for St. John, N.B., with all his books, papers, and evidence of colonial property, to be laid before the Commissioners and have their claims allowed. A terrible snowstorm drove their vessel upon the rocks. A slate-stone slab, in the old burying-ground, King street, St. John, gives the sequel to this sad story:

Here lyeth the Bodies of Col.
JOSHUA CHANDLER, Aged 61 years
And WILLIAM CHANDLER. His
Son Aged 29 years, who were
Ship wreck'd on their passage
from Digby to St. John on the
Night of the 9th day of March
1787 & perished in the Woods
on the 11th of the said Months.
Here lyeth the Bodies of Mrs.
SARAH GRANT, Aged 38
Years Widow
of the late Major ALEXr
GRANT;
& Miss ELIZABETH
CHANDLER aged
27 years, who were
Shipwreck'd on
their passage from Digby
to St.
John on the Night of
the 9th day of March 1787 and
Perished in the
Woods on the 11t of said Month.

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